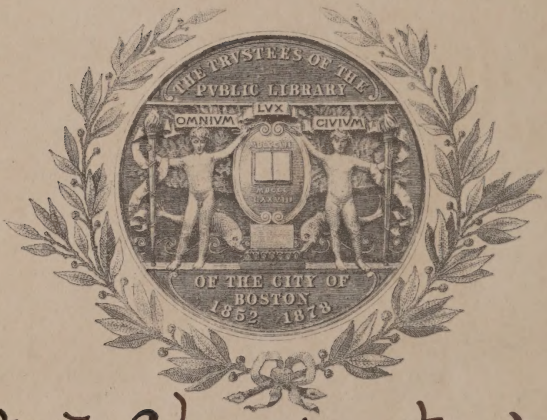
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9999 08630 503 2

№ 7496.5



W. F. Channing M. D.

WORCESTER

A

SOLEMN REVIEW

OF THE

CUSTOM OF WAR,

AND

X 7496.5

SEVEN NUMBERS

OF

THE FRIEND OF PEACE.

PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON

776

I 9920

H. L. Fleming M.D.
Nov 23, 1870

Dup. No. 2 mx+ E. 821.14

A

SOLEMN REVIEW

OF THE

CUSTOM OF WAR,

SHOWING

THAT WAR IS THE EFFECT OF POPULAR DELUSION,

AND

PROPOSING A REMEDY.

BY PHILO PACIFICUS.

TENTH EDITION.

NO. I.

"Shall the sword devour forever?"

WE regard with horror the custom of the ancient heathens in offering their children in sacrifice to idols. We are shocked with the customs of the Hindoos, in prostrating themselves before the car of an idol to be crushed to death; in burning women alive on the funeral piles of their husbands; in offering a monthly sacrifice, by casting living children into the Ganges to be drowned. We read with astonishment of the sacrifices made in the papal crusades, and in the Mahometan and Hindoo pilgrimages. We wonder at the blindness of christian nations, who have esteemed it right and honourable to buy and sell Africans as property, and reduce them to bondage for life. But that which is fashionable and popular in a country is esteemed right and honorable, whatever may be its nature in the view of men better informed.

But while we look back with a mixture of wonder, indignation and pity, on many of the customs of former ages, are we careful to inquire, whether some customs, which we deem honorable, are not the effect of popular delusion? and whether they will not be so regarded by future generations? Is it not a fact, that one of the most horrid customs of savage men, is now popular in every nation in Christendom? What custom of the most barbarous nations is more repugnant to the feelings of piety, humanity and

justice, than that of deciding controversies between nations by the edge of the sword, by powder and ball, or the point of the bayonet? What other savage custom has occasioned half the desolation and misery to the human race? And what but the grossest infatuation, could render such a custom popular among rational beings?

When we consider how great a part of mankind have perished by the hands of each other, and how large a portion of human calamity has resulted from war; it surely cannot appear indifferent, whether this custom is or is not the effect of delusion. Certainly there is no custom which deserves a more thorough examination, than that which has occasioned more slaughter and misery, than all the other abominable customs of the heathen world.

War has been so long fashionable among all nations, that its enormity is but little regarded; or when thought of at all, it is usually considered as an evil necessary and unavoidable. Perhaps it is really so in the present state of society, and the present views of mankind. But the question to be considered is this; cannot the state of society and the views of civilized men be so changed, as to abolish a barbarous custom, and render wars unnecessary and avoidable?

If this question may be answered in the affirmative, then we may hope "the sword will not devour forever."

Some may be ready to exclaim, none but God can produce such an effect as the abolition of war; and we must wait for the millennial day. We admit that God only can produce the necessary change in the state of society, and the views of men; but God works by human agency and human means. God only could have overthrown the empire of Napoleon; but this he did by granting success to the efforts of the allied powers. He only could have produced such a change in the views of the British Nation, as to abolish the slave trade; yet the event was brought about by a long course of persevering and honorable exertions of benevolent men.

When the thing was first proposed, it probably appeared to the majority of the people, as an unavailing and chimerical project. But God raised up powerful advocates, gave them the spirit of perseverance, and finally crowned their efforts with glorious success. Now it is probable, that thousands of people are wondering how such an abominable traffic ever had existence in a nation which had the least pretensions to Christianity or civilization. In a similar manner God can put an end to war, and fill the world with astonishment, that rational beings ever thought of such a mode of settling controversies.

As to waiting for the millennium to put an end to war, without any exertions on our own part; this is like the sinner's waiting God's time for conversion, while he pursues his course of vice and impiety. If ever there shall be a millennium, in which the sword will

cease to devour, it will probably be effected by the blessing of God on the benevolent exertions of enlightened men. Perhaps no one thing is now a greater obstacle in the way of the wished for state of the church, than the *spirit* and *custom* of war, which is maintained by Christians themselves. Is it not then time, that efforts should be made to enlighten the minds of Christians on a subject of such infinite importance to the happiness of the human race?

It is not the present object to prove, that a nation may not defend their lives, their liberties and their property against an invading foe; but to inquire whether it is not possible to effect such a change in the views of men, that there shall be no occasion for *defensive* war. That such a state of things is desirable, no enlightened Christian can deny. That it can be produced without expensive and persevering efforts is not imagined. But are not such efforts to exclude the miseries of war from the world as laudable, as those which have for their object the support of such a malignant and desolating custom?

The whole amount of property in the United States is probably of far less value, than what has been expended and destroyed within two centuries by wars in Christendom. Suppose, then, that one fifth of this amount had been judiciously laid out by Peace Associations in the different states and nations, in cultivating the spirit and art of peace, and in exciting a just abhorrence of war; would not the other four fifths have been in a great measure saved, besides many millions of lives, and an immense portion of misery? Had the whole value of what has been expended in wars, been appropriated to the purpose of peace, how laudable would have been the appropriation, and how blessed the consequences!

NO. II.

That it is possible to produce such a state of society, as to exclude national wars, may appear probable from the following facts.

1. It is impossible for the rulers of any one nation to do much in carrying on a war with another, without the aid of subjects, or the common people.

2. A war between two nations is generally produced by the influence of a small number of ambitious and unprincipled individuals; while the greater part of a nation has no hand in the business until war is proclaimed.

3. A vast majority of every civilized nation have an aversion to war; such an aversion that it requires much effort and management, to work up their passions so far, that they are willing personally to engage in such hazardous and bloody conflicts. The more any people are civilized and christianized, the greater is their aversion to war; and the more powerful exertions are necessary

to excite what is called the *war spirit.* Were it not for the influence of a few ambitious or revengeful men, an offensive war could not be undertaken with any prospect of success, except when the mass of the people are either uncivilized, or slaves. If then, as great exertions should be made to excite a just abhorrence of war, as have often been made to excite a war spirit, we may be very certain that rulers would find little encouragement to engage in any war, which is not strictly defensive. And as soon as offensive wars shall cease, defensive wars will of course be unknown.

4. It is an affront to common sense, to pretend that military officers and soldiers have no right to inquire whether a war be just or unjust; and that all they have to do is to obey the orders of government. Such a doctrine is fit to be taught only to slaves without souls. If a man is called to fight, he should be faithfully informed, and fully satisfied, that he is not to act the part of a murderer, that the blood of men may not be required at his hands. Every soldier ought to be impressed with the idea, that offensive war is murderous, and that no government on earth has any right to compel him to shed blood in a wanton and aggressive war. Yet in the present state of general delusion, the soldiers and most of the citizens are treated as having no more right to judge of the justice or the injustice of a war, than the horses employed in military service. On one side a war is certainly unjust and murderous. Yet on both sides it is considered as the duty of soldiers to submit to the orders of government, and fight, whether it be murder or not murder! With the same propriety it might be considered as the duty of a citizen, to obey an order of government for murdering an individual of his own nation.

5 National wars often originate from such petty offences, as would not justify the taking of a single life, and from false principles of honor, which every Christian should abhor. What can be more perfect delusion, than to suppose the *honor* of a nation requires a declaration of war, for such offences as would not justify one individual in taking the life of another? Or what can be more absurd than to suppose the honor of a nation requires going to war, while there is not even the prospect of advantage? Is such petulance, as would disgrace a common citizen, or such a revengeful spirit, as would disgrace a savage, becoming the dignity of a national government, or the ruler of a christian people?

To sacrifice human beings to false notions of national honor, or to the ambition or avarice of rulers, is no better than to offer them to Moloch, or any other heathen deity. As soon as the eyes of people can be opened to see that war is the effect of delusion, it will then become as unpopular as any other heathenish mode of offering human sacrifices.

It is enough to fill the mind of any reflecting man with horror, to think of the millions of his fellow men, who have been sacrificed

to the ambition, the avarice, the petulance, or the profligacy of ungodly rulers. How shocking the thought, of armies meeting under the influence of enmity, artificially excited, to plunge their bayonets into the breasts of each other; and thus to offer human sacrifices by thousands, to some idolized phantom of ambitious or revengeful men! In every war that has taken place, the soldiers, on one side or the other, have been either the slaves or the dupes of deluded or unprincipled rulers. The soldiers on each side often meet without ever having experienced the least injury from each other; with no enmity but what has been artificially excited, and without having the least ground to be offended with each other, any more than they had in a time of perfect peace. Yet those who never had any provocation from one another, nor any hand in proclaiming the war, are by art inspired with enmity, and made to thirst for each other's blood, and to perish by each other's hands. A more barbarous mode of offering human sacrifices was never practised by the most savage nations; nor one, it is believed, more abhorrent in the eyes of Heaven.

Public wars and private duels seem to be practised on similar principles. Gentlemen may fight and kill for petty offences; but if common people do the same, they are hanged as murderers. Gentlemen of the sword cannot wait the slow operation of law, for the redress of supposed wrongs, but must show themselves men of spirit, that is, ready to kill for an offensive word. What is deemed honorable virtue in them, is shameful vice in other people. That benevolent, forbearing spirit, which is the glory of good people, is thought beneath the dignity of a gentleman of honor. First to give a challenge, and thus notify a man of a wish to kill him, is supposed to exclude the sin of murder. So in regard to war makers, that magnanimity and forbearance, which would adorn the character of a private Christian, is despised by the ambitious ruler, in relation to himself. And that petulance, rashness and disregard to the lives of others, which would render a private citizen the object of just and general abhorrence, are regarded by many, as honorable traits in the character of one who is exalted to rule over men. If in the exercise of this haughty, unfeeling and vindictive temper, he declares war, this declaration, he fancies, will secure him from the guilt of murder. Thus thousands after thousands are sacrificed on the altar of his ungodly ambition; and every means, which ingenuity can invent, is employed to delude the unfortunate victims, and make them believe, that with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

There is however one circumstance usually attending public wars, which renders them more detestable than private duels. The duellist usually has the generosity to do his own fighting; but war makers usually have the meanness to avoid the dangers which they create, and to call on other people to fight their battles.

Duelling is indeed a horrible custom; but war is as much more horrible, as it is more desolating and ruinous. As to the principles on which war is practised, it has no advantage of duelling. It is in fact *national duelling*, attended generally with this dishonourable circumstance, that those who give and accept the challenge, call together a multitude of seconds, and then have not the magnanimity, first to risk their own lives, but they involve their seconds in a bloody contest, while they themselves stand remote from danger, as spectators, or at most as directors of the awful combat. Or perhaps more commonly, after issuing their bloody mandate, they indulge in pleasure, regardless of the suffering of others. So "the king and Haman sat down to drink; but the city Shushan was perplexed."

NO. III.

In favour of war several pleas will probably be made.

First. Some will plead that the Israelites were permitted and even commanded to make war on the inhabitants of Canaan. To this it may be answered, that the Giver and Arbiter of life had a right, if he pleased, to make use of the savage customs of the age, for punishing guilty nations. If any government of the present day should receive a commission to make war, as the Israelites did, let the order be obeyed. But until they have such a commission, let it not be imagined that they can innocently make war.

As a farther answer to this plea, we have to observe, that God has given encouragement, that under the reign of the Messiah, there shall be such a time of peace, "that nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Micah iv. 3. If this prediction shall ever be fulfilled, the present delusion in favour of war must be done away. How then are we to expect the way will be prepared for the accomplishment of the prediction? Probably this is not to be done by miraculous agency, but by the blessing of God on the benevolent exertions of individuals to open the eyes of their fellow mortals, in respect to the evils and delusions of war, and the blessings of peace. Those who shall be the instruments of producing so important a change in the views of men, will be in an eminent sense "peace makers," and will be entitled to the appellation and privileges of "the sons of God." How much more glorious the achievement to conquer the prejudices and delusions of men on this subject by kindness and reason, than to conquer the world by the edge of the sword!

A second plea in favour of the custom of war may be this—that war is an advantage to a nation, as it usually takes off many vicious and dangerous characters. But does not war make two such characters for every one it removes? Is it not in fact the

greatest school of depravity, and the greatest source of mischievous and dangerous characters that ever existed among men? Does not a state of war lower down the standard of morality in a nation, so that a vast portion of common vice is scarcely observed as evil?

Besides, is it not awful to think of sending vicious men beyond the means of reformation, and the hope of repentance! When they are sent into the army, what is this but consigning them to a state where they will rapidly fill up the measure of their iniquity, and become "fitted to destruction!"

Thirdly. It will be pleaded, that no substitute for war can be devised, which will insure to a nation a redress of wrongs. In reply we may ask, Is it common for a nation to obtain a *redress* of wrongs by war? As to *redress*, do not the wars of nations resemble boxing at a tavern, when both the combatants receive a terrible bruising, then drink together and make peace; each, however, bearing for a long time the marks of his folly and madness? A redress of wrongs by war is so uncommon, that unless revenge is redress, and multiplied injuries satisfaction, we should suppose that none but madmen would run the hazard.

But if the eyes of people could be opened in regard to the evils and delusions of war, would it not be easy to form a confederacy of nations, and organize a high court of equity, to decide national controversies? Why might not such a court be composed of some of the most eminent characters from each nation; and a compliance with the decision of the court be made a point of national honor, to prevent the effusion of blood, and to preserve the blessings of peace? Can any considerate person say, that the probability of obtaining right in such a court, would be *less* than by an appeal to arms? When an individual appeals to a court of justice for the redress of wrongs, it is not always the case that he obtains his right. Still such an appeal is more honorable, more safe, and more certain, as well as more benevolent, than for the individual to attempt to obtain redress by his pistol or his sword. And are not the reasons for avoiding an appeal to the sword, for the redress of wrongs, always great in proportion to the calamities, which such an appeal must naturally involve? If this be a fact, then there is infinitely greater reason, why two nations should avoid an appeal to arms, than usually exists against a bloody combat between two contending individuals.

In the fourth place it may be urged, that a spirit of forbearance on the part of a national government, would operate as an invitation to repeated insult and aggression.

But is this plea founded on facts and experience? Does it accord with what is well known of human nature? Who are the persons in society that most frequently receive insult and abuse? Are they the meek, the benevolent, and the forbearing? Do

these more commonly have reason to complain, than persons of quick resentment, who are ready to fight on the least provocation?

There are two sects of professed Christians in this country, who, as sects, are peculiar in their opinions respecting the lawfulness of war, and the right of repelling injury by violence. These are the Quakers and the Shakers. They are remarkably pacific. Now we ask, does it appear from experience that their forbearing spirit brings on them a greater portion of injury and insult, than what is experienced by people of other sects? Is not the reverse of this true in fact? There may indeed be some instances of such gross depravity, as a person's taking advantage of their pacific character, to do them injury, with the hope of impunity. But in general, it is believed, their pacific principles and spirit command the esteem even of the vicious, and operate as a shield from insult and abuse.

The question may be brought home to every society. How seldom do children of a mild, forbearing temper experience insult or injury, compared with the waspish, who will sting if touched? The same inquiry may be made in respect to persons of these opposite descriptions of every age, and in every situation of life; and the result will be favorable to the point in question.

Should any deny the applicability of these examples to national rulers, we have the pleasure of being able to produce one example, which is undeniably applicable.

When William Penn took the government of Pennsylvania, he distinctly avowed to the Indians his forbearing and pacific principles, and his benevolent wishes for uninterrupted peace with them. On these principles the government was administered, while it remained in the hands of the Quakers. What then was the effect? Did this pacific character in government invite aggression and insult? Let the answer be given in the language of the Edinburgh Review of the Life of William Penn. Speaking of the treaty made by Penn with the Indians, the Reviewer says:—

"Such indeed was the spirit in which the negotiation was entered into, and the corresponding settlement conducted, that for the space of more than *seventy years*,—and so long indeed as the quakers retained the chief power in the government, the peace and amity, which had been thus solemnly promised and concluded, never was violated; and a large though solitary example afforded, of the facility with which they, who are really sincere and friendly in their views, may live in harmony with those who are supposed to be peculiarly fierce and faithless."

Shall then this "solitary" but successful "example" never be imitated? "Shall the sword devour forever?"

No. IV.

Some of the evils of war have already been mentioned, but the field is almost boundless. The demoralizing and depraving effects of war cannot be too seriously considered. We have heard much of the corrupting tendency of some of the rites and customs of the heathen; but what custom of the heathen nations had a greater effect in depraving the human character, than the custom of war? What is that feeling usually called a *war spirit*, but a deleterious compound of enthusiastic ardor, ambition, malignity, and revenge? a compound, which as really endangers the *soul* of the possessor, as the *life* of his enemy! Who, but a person deranged or deluded, would think it safe to rush into the presence of his Judge, with his heart boiling with enmity, and his brother's blood dripping from his hands! Yet in time of war, how much pains is taken to excite and maintain this bloodthirsty disposition, as essential to success!

The profession of a soldier exposes him to sudden and untimely death, and at the same time hardens his heart, and renders him regardless of his final account. When a person goes into the army, it is expected of him, that he will rise above the fear of death. In doing this he too commonly rises above the fear of God, and all serious concern for his soul. It is not denied that some men sustain virtuous characters amidst the contaminating vapours of a camp; and some may be reformed by a sense of the dangers to which they are exposed; but these are uncommon occurences.

The depravity, occasioned by war, is not confined to the army. Every species of vice gains ground in a nation during a war. And when a war is brought to a close, seldom, perhaps, does a community return to its former standard of morals. In time of peace, vice and irreligion generally retain the ground they acquired by war. As every war augments the amount of national depravity, so it proportionably increases the dangers and miseries of society.*

* It has been suggested by a friend, that there is an exception to this account—that Great Britain has been engaged in war the greater part of the time for a century, and that probably the moral and religious character of the nation has been improvedduring that period.

Admitting the correctness of this statement, it amounts to no more than *one* exception from a general rule; and this one may be accounted for, on the ground of singular facts.

1. The Island of Great Britain has *not* been the *seat of war* for a long course of years. The wars of that nation have been carried on abroad; and their army and navy have had little intercourse with the population at home. This mode of warfare has tended to remove from their own country the corrupting influence of military camps. Had their Island been the seat of war for eighty years out of a hundred, the effects would, in a great measure, have been reversed. But

Among the evil effects of war, a wanton undervaluing of human life ought to be mentioned. This effect may appear in various forms. When a war is declared for the redress of some wrong, in regard to property, if nothing but property be taken into consideration, the result is not commonly better, than spending five hundred dollars in a law suit, to recover a debt of ten. But when we come to estimate human lives against dollars and cents, how are we confounded! "All that a man hath will he give for his life" Yet, by the custom of war men are so deluded, that a ruler may give fifty or a hundred thousand lives, when only a trifling amount of property is in question, and when the probabilities are as ten to one against him, that even that small amount will not be secured by the contest. It must however again be remarked, that war makers do not usually give their *own lives*, but the *lives of others*. How often has a war been declared with the prospect that not less than 50,000 lives must be sacrificed; and while the chief agent in making the war would not have given his own life, to secure to his nation every thing that he claimed from the other? And are rulers to be upheld in thus gambling away the lives of others, while they are careful to secure their own? If people in general could obtain just views of this species of gambling, rulers would not make wars with impunity. How little do they consider the misery and wretchedness which they bring on those, for whom they should exercise the kindness and care of a father? Does it not appear that they regard the lives of soldiers as mere property, which they may sacrifice, or barter away at pleasure? War is in truth the most dreadful species of gambling. Rulers are the gamblers. The lives and property of their subjects are the things they put to hazard in the game; and he that is most successful in doing mischief, is considered as the best gamester.

If by the custom of war, rulers learn to undervalue the lives of their own subjects, how much more do they undervalue the lives of their enemies! As they learn to hear of the loss of five hundred, or a thousand of their own men, with perhaps less feeling than they would hear of the death of a favorite horse or dog; so they learn to hear of the death of thousands after thousands on the side of the enemy, with joy and exultation. If their own men have succeeded

2. There have been within 20 years, singular efforts in that nation, which have had a tendency to counteract the moral influence of war. Their Missionary Societies, their Bible Societies, and a vast number of religious, moral, and charitable institutions, must have had a powerful and favorable influence on the character of the nation. By *these*, and *not by wars*, the moral state of the nation has been improved.

After all, we are perhaps not very adequate judges of the present depravity in that nation. Their army and navy may still be considered in estimating the amount of national depravity, as well as of population. Let these return home, be disbanded, and mixed with the general mass of citizens; what then would be the moral state of society in Great Britain?

in taking an unimportant fortress, or a frigate, with the loss of fifty lives on their own side, and fifty-one on the other, this is a matter of joy and triumph. This time they have got the game. But alas! at what expense to others! This expense, however, does not interrupt the joy of war makers. They leave it to the wounded and the friends of the dead to *feel* and to *mourn*.

This dreadful depravity of feeling is not confined to rulers in time of war. The army becomes abandoned to such depravity. They learn to undervalue not only the lives of their enemies, but even their own; and will often wantonly rush into the arms of death, for the sake of military glory. And more or less of the same want of feeling, and the same undervaluing of human life, extends through the nation, in proportion to the frequency of battles, and the duration of war

If any thing be done by the army of one nation, which is deemed by the other as contrary to the modern usages in war; how soon do we hear the exclamations, of *Goths and Vandals!* Yet what are the war spirit in them, better than the spirit of Goths and Vandals? When the war spirit is excited, it is not always to be circumscribed in its operations, by the refinements of civilization. It is at best a Christian always, better than those barbarous tribes? and what a bloody and desolating spirit.

What is our boast of civilization, or christianization, while we tolerate, as popular and justifiable, the most horrid custom which ever resulted from human wickedness! Should a period arrive when the nations "shall learn war no more;" what will posterity think of our claims, as Christians, and civilized men? The custom of sacrificing men by war may appear to them as the *blackest* of all heathen superstitions. Its present popularity may appear as wonderful to ages to come, as the past popularity of any ancient custom now does to us. What! they may exclaim, could those be *Christians*, who would sacrifice men by thousands to a point of *honor*, falsely so called; or to obtain a redress of a trifling wrong in regard to property! If such were the customs of Christians, what were they better than the heathens of their own time?

Perhaps some apologist may rise up in that day, and plead, that it appears from the history of our times, that it was supposed necessary to the safety of a nation, that its government should be quick to assume a warlike tone and attitude, upon every infringement of their rights; that magnanimous forbearance was considered as pusillanimity, and that christian meekness was thought intolerable in the character of a ruler.

To this others may reply—Could these professed Christians imagine, that their safety depended on displaying a spirit the reverse of their Master's? Could they suppose such a temper best calculated to insure the protection of him, who held their destiny in his hands? Did they not know that wars were of a demoralizing tendency, and

that the greatest danger of a nation resulted from its corruption and depravity? Did they not also know, that a haughty spirit of resentment in one government, was very sure to provoke a similar spirit in another? that one war usually paved the way for a repetition of similar calamities by depraving each of the contending parties, and by fixing enmities and jealousies, which would be ready to break forth on the most frivolous occasions?

No. V.

That we may obtain a still clearer view of the delusions of war, let us look back to the origin of society. Suppose a family, like that of Noah, to commence the settlement of a country. They multiply into a number of distinct families. Then in the course of years they become so numerous as to form distinct governments. In any stage of their progress, unfortunate disputes might arise by the imprudence, the avarice, or the ambition of individuals.

Now at what period would it be proper to introduce the custom of deciding controversies by the edge of the sword, or an appeal to arms? Might this be done when the families had increased to ten? Who would not be shocked at the madness of introducing such a custom under such circumstances? Might it then with more propriety be done when the families had multiplied to fifty, or to a hundred, or a thousand, or ten thousand? The greater the number, the greater the danger, the greater the carnage and calamity. Besides, what reason can be given, why this mode of deciding controversies would not be as proper when there were but ten families, as when there were ten thousand. And why might not two individuals thus decide disputes, as well as two nations?

Perhaps all will admit that the custom could not be honorably introduced, until they separated, and formed two or more distinct governments. But would this change of circumstances dissolve their ties as brethren, and their obligations as accountable beings? Would the organization of distinct governments confer a right on rulers to appeal to arms for the settlement of controversies? Is it not manifest, that no period can be assigned, at which the introduction of such a custom would not be absolute murder? And shall a custom, which must have been murderous at its commencement, be now upheld as necessary and honorable!

But, says the objector, in determining the question, whether war is now the effect of delusion, we must consider what mankind *are* and not what they would have been, had wars never been introduced.

To this we reply: We should consider both; and by what *ought* to have been the state of society, we may discover the present delusion, and the need of light and reformation. If it would have been to the honor of the human race, had the custom of war never commenced, it must be desirable to dispel the present darkness, and

exterminate the desolating scourge. The same objection might have been made to the proposition in the British parliament for the abolition of the slave trade; the same may now be made against any attempt to abolish the custom of human sacrifices among the Hindoos; yea, the same may be urged against every attempt to root out pernicious and immoral customs of long standing.

Let it then be seriously considered how abominably murderous the custom must have been in its origin; how precarious the mode of obtaining redress; how often the aggressor is successful; how small a part even of the successful nation is ever benefitted by the war; how a nation is almost uniformly impoverished by the contest; how many individuals are absolutely ruined as to property, or morals, or both; and what a multitude of fellow creatures are hurried into eternity in an untimely manner, and an unprepared state. And who can hesitate a moment to denounce war as the effect of popular delusion?

Let every Christian seriously consider the malignant nature of that spirit which war makers evidently wish to excite, and compare it with the temper of Jesus, and where is the Christian who would not shudder at the thought of dying in the exercise of the common war spirit, and also at the thought of being the instrument of exciting such a spirit in his fellow men? Any custom, which cannot be supported but by exciting in men the very temper of the devil, ought surely to be banished from the Christian world.

The impression, that aggressive war is murderous, is general among Christians, if not universal. The justness of this impression seems to be admitted by almost every government in going to war. For this reason each of two governments endeavors to fix on the other the charge of aggression, and to assume to itself the ground of defending some right, or avenging some wrong. Thus each excuses itself, and charges the other with all the blood and misery, which result from the contest.

These facts, however, are so far from affording a plea in favor of the custom of war, that they afford a weighty reason for its abolition. If in the view of conscience, the aggressor is a murderer, and answerable for the blood shed in war; if one or the other must be viewed by God as the aggressor; and if such is the delusion attending war, that each party is liable to consider the other as the aggressor; surely there must be serious danger of a nation's being involved in the guilt of murder, while they imagine they have a cause which may be justified.

So prone are men to be blinded by their passions, their prejudices and their interests, that in most private quarrels, each of two individuals persuades himself that he is in the right, and his neighbor in the wrong. Hence the propriety of arbitrations, references, and appeals to courts of justice, that persons more disinterested may judge, and prevent that injustice and desolation, which would result from deciding private disputes by single combat or acts of violence.

But rulers of nations are as liable to be misled by their passions and interests as other men; and when misled, they are very sure to mislead those of their subjects, who have confidence in their wisdom and integrity. Hence it is highly important that the custom of war should be abolished, and some other mode adopted, to settle disputes between nations. In private disputes there may be cause of complaint on each side, while neither has reason to shed the blood of the other; much less to shed the blood of innocent family connexions, neighbors and friends. So of two nations, each may have cause of complaint, while neither can be justified in making war; and much less in shedding the blood of innocent people, who have had no hand in giving the offence.

It is an awful feature in the character of war, and a strong reason why it should not be countenanced, that it involves the innocent with the guilty in the calamities it inflicts; and often falls with the greatest vengeance on those, who have had no concern in the management of national affairs. It surely is not a crime to be born in a country, which is afterwards invaded; yet in how many instances do war makers punish or destroy, for no other crime than being a native or resident of an invaded territory. A mode of revenge or redress, which makes no distinction between the innocent and the guilty, ought to be discountenanced by every friend to justice and humanity.

Besides, as the rulers of a nation are as liable as other people, to be governed by passion and prejudice, there is as little prospect of justice in permitting war for the decision of national disputes, as there would be in permitting an incensed individual to be, in his own cause, complainant, witness, judge, jury, and executioner. In what point of view, then, is war not to be regarded with horror?

No. VI.

That wars have been so over-ruled by God, as to be the occasion of some benefits to mankind, will not be denied; for the same may be said of every fashion or custom that ever was popular among men. War may have been the occasion of advancing useful arts and sciences, and even of the spread of the gospel. But we are not to do evil that good may come, nor to countenance evil because God may over-rule it for good.

One advantage of war, which has often been mentioned, is this—it gives opportunity for the display of extraordinary talents, of daring enterprize and intrepidity. But let robbery and piracy become as popular as war has been, and will not these customs give as great opportunity for the display of the same talents and qualities of mind? Shall we therefore encourage robbery and piracy? Indeed, it may be asked, do we not encourage these crimes? For what is modern warfare but a popular, refined and legalized mode of robbery, piracy and murder, preceded by a proclamation, giving

notice of the purpose of the war maker? But whether such a proclamation changes the character of the following enormities, is a question to be decided at a higher court than that of any earthly sovereign, and by a law superior to the law of nations.

The answer of a pirate to Alexander the Great was as just as it was severe; "By what right," said the king, "do you infest the seas?" The pirate replied, "By the same that you infest the universe. But because I do it in a small ship, I am called a robber, and because you do the same acts with a great fleet, you are called a conqueror."

Equally just was the language of the Scythian ambassadors to the same deluded monarch: "Thou boastest that the only design of thy marches is to extirpate robbers. *Thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world.*"

May we then plead for the custom of war, because it produces such mighty robbers as Alexander? Or if once in an age it should produce such a character as Washington, will this make amends for the slaughter of twenty millions of human beings, and all the other concomitant evils of war?

If the characters of such men as Alexander had been held in just abhorrence by mankind, this single circumstance would probably have saved many millions from untimely death. But the celebrity which delusion has given to that desolating robber, and the renown attached to his splendid crimes have excited the ambition of others, in every succeeding age, and filled the world with misery and blood.

Is it not then time for Christians to learn *not* to attach glory to guilt, or to praise actions which God will condemn? That Alexander possessed talents worthy of admiration, will be admitted. But when such talents are prostituted to the vile pu pose of military fame, by spreading destruction and misery through the world, a character is formed, which should be branded with everlasting infamy. And nothing perhaps short of the commission of such atrocious deeds, can more endanger the welfare of community, than the applause given to successful military desperadoes. Murder and robbery are not the less criminal for being perpetrated by a king, or a mighty warrior. Nor will the applause of deluded mortals secure such monsters from the vengeance of Heaven.

Dr. Prideaux states, that in the fifty battles fought by Cæsar, he slew *one million one hundred and ninety two thousand* of his enemies. If to this number we add the loss of troops on his own side, and the slaughter of women and children on both sides, we shall probably have a total of TWO MILLIONS of human beings, sacrificed to the ambition of one man.

If we assign an equal number to Alexander, and the same to Napoleon, which we probably may do with justice, then to *three* military butchers, we may ascribe the untimely death of six millions of the human family: a number equal to the whole population of the

United States, in the year 1800. Is it not then reasonable to believe, that a greater number of human beings have been slain by the murderous custom of war, than the whole amount of the present population of the world? To what heathen deity was there ever offered such a multitude of human sacrifices, as have been offered to human ambition?

Shall then the christian world remain silent in regard to the enormity of this custom, and even applaud the deeds of men, who were a *curse* to the age in which they lived? men, whose talents were employed, not in advancing the happiness of the human race, but in spreading desolation and misery through the world! On the same principle that such men are applauded, we may applaud the chief of a band of robbers and pirates in proportion to his ingenuity, intrepidity, and address, in doing mischief. If the chief displays these energies of mind in a high degree in a successful course of plundering and murder, then he is a "*mighty hunter*," a man of great renown.

But if we attach glory to such exploits, do we not encourage others to adopt the same road to fame? Besides, does not such applause betray a most depraved taste; a taste which makes no proper distinction between virtue and vice, or doing good and doing mischief; a taste to be captivated with the glare of bold exploits, but regardless of the *end* to which they are directed, the *means* by which they are accomplished, the *misery* which they occasion to others, and the light in which they must be viewed by a benevolent God?

No. VII.

An important question now occurs. By what means is it possible to produce such a change in the state of society, and the views of christian nations, that every ruler shall feel that his own honor, safety and happiness, depend on his displaying a pacific spirit, and forbearing to engage in offensive wars? Is it not possible to form powerful Peace Societies, in every nation of Christendom, whose object shall be, to support government and secure the nation from war?

In such societies we may hope to engage every true minister of the Prince of peace, and every Christian who possesses the temper of his Master. In this number would be included a large portion of important civil characters.

Having formed societies for this purpose, let the contributions be liberal, in some measure corresponding with the magnitude and importance of the object. Let these be judiciously appropriated to the purpose of diffusing light, and the spirit of peace in every direction, and for exciting a just abhorrence of war in every breast.

Let printing presses be established in sufficient numbers to fill every land with newspapers, tracts and periodical works, adapted

to the pacific design of the societies. Let these all be calculated for the support and encouragement of good rulers, and for the cultivation of a mild and pacific temper among every class of citizens.

The object would be so perfectly harmonious with the spirit, the design and the glory of the gospel, that it might be frequently the subject of discussion in the pulpit; the subject of sabbath and every day conversation, and be introduced into our daily prayers to God, whether in public or private.

Another means of advancing the object, deserves particular consideration; namely, early education. This grand object should have a place in every plan of education, in families, common schools, academies and universities.

"Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it." The power of education has been tried to make children of a ferocious, blood thirsty character. Let it now have a fair chance, to see what it will do towards making mild, friendly and peaceful citizens.

As there is an aversion to war in the breasts of a large majority of people in every civilized community; and as its evils have been recently felt in every christian nation; is there not ground to hope, that it would be as easy to excite a disposition for peace, as a disposition for war? If then Peace Societies should be formed, and such means be put in operation, as have been suggested, is it not very certain, that the most beneficial effects would result? Would they not gradually produce an important change in the views and state of society, and give a new character to christian nations? What institution or project would more naturally unite all pious, and virtuous men? And on what efforts could we more reasonably hope for the blessing of the God of peace?

Should prudent, vigorous, and well conducted efforts be made, in a century from this time, the nations of christendom may consider human sacrifices, made by war, in the same light they now view the ancient sacrifices to Moloch; or in the light of wanton and deliberate murder. And such a change in the views of men must conduce to the security and stability of human governments, and to the felicity of the world. As soon as christian nations are impressed with the importance of this change, they may find access to the heathen. But while Christians indulge the custom of war, which is in truth the very worst custom in the world, with what face can they reprove the heathen, or assume among them the office of instructors! "Physician, heal thyself."

The Bible Societies, already formed in various parts of the world, must naturally and even necessarily aid the object now proposed. Indeed, the two objects are so congenial, that whatever promotes the one, will aid the other. Nor is it easy to see how any Bible Society could refrain from voluntarily affording all possible encouragement to Peace Societies. The same may be said of all mission-

ary societies, and societies for propagating the gospel. Should these all cordially cooperate, they must form a most powerful association.

But our hopes and expectations are not limited here. The societies of Friends and Shakers will come in of course, and cordially contribute to the glorious object. May we not also expect a ready acquiescence from the particular churches of every denomination in the land? And why may we not look to the various literary and political societies, for aid in a plan, which has the security, the peace, and the happiness of the world for its object.

That there are obstacles and objections to be encountered we cannot deny; but it is confidently believed, that there are none insurmountable; because God will aid in such a cause, and the time is at hand, when his prediction shall be fulfilled.

As the object is not of a party nature, and as party distinctions and party purposes have been excluded from the discussion, it is hoped no objection will arise from the present state of political parties in this country. The supposed delusion in respect to war is confined to no nation, nor to any political sect in any country. What has been said on the subject has not been designed for the purpose of reproach against any class of men; but with a desire to befriend and benefit all who have not examined the subject; and to rouse Christians to one united and vigorous effort to bless the world with peace.

An eloquent speech, delivered by Mr. Wilberforce in the British Parliament, in favour of propagating christianity in India, with a view to abolish human sacrifices in that country, contains some observations, which we hope he will repeat in the same house on the present subject:

"It was," said he, "formerly my task to plead the cause of a people, whose woes affected every heart, and who were finally rescued from the situation in which they groaned, by the abolition of the slave trade. That cause was doubtless the cause of suffering humanity; but I declare, that if we entirely exclude the consideration of religion, humanity appears to me to be still more concerned in the cause I am now pleading, than in that for which I was formerly the advocate."—"I, for my part, consider it as absolute blasphemy to believe that that great Being, to whom we owe our existence, has doomed so large a portion of mankind to remain forever in that state in which we see the natives of India at this day. I am confident his providence has furnished remedies fitted to the case, and I hold it to be our duty to apply them. And I am satisfied, that not only may this be safely attempted, but that its accomplishment will be in the highest degree beneficial."

May God grant that this powerful advocate for "suffering humanity" may have his heart fervently engaged for the abolition of the *war trade*. Here he may find a new and ample field for the

display of his piety, his philanthropy and his eloquence. With the greatest propriety he may state, that the miseries, occasioned by the universal custom of war, are far more dreadful, than those occasioned by either of the limited customs, for the abolition of which he has so honorably and successfully contended.

If it would be blasphemy to believe that God has doomed so great a portion of his creatures, as the natives of India, to remain forever the subjects of their present delusions respecting human sacrifices: can it be less than blasphemy to believe that he has doomed not only all Christendom, but all the nations of the earth, to be forever so deluded, as to support the most desolating custom, which ever resulted from human depravity, or which ever afflicted the race of Adam? Here with sincerity I can adopt the words of Mr. Wilberforce—"I am confident that his providence has furnished remedies fitted to the case; and I hold it to be our duty to apply them."

I have till now avoided the mention of our present war,* that nothing should appear calculated to excite party feelings. But as the present calamity is severely felt, I must be permitted to express my hope, that the affliction will favor the present object. If our distresses may be the occasion of opening the eyes of this people to see the delusions of war in general, and of exciting them to suitable exertions to prevent a return of such a calamity, an important benefit may result not only to posterity, but to the world. For if suitable exertions should be made in this country, the influence will not be bounded by the Atlantic; it will cross the ocean, and find its way into the Bible Societies and other religious societies in Great Britain, and on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa. Nor will it be many years before it will find access to the houses of legislation and the palaces of kings.

Here Christians of every sect may find an object worthy of their attention, and in which they may cordially unite. For this object they may with propriety leave behind all party zeal and party distinctions, and bury their animosities in one united effort, to give peace to the world.

Let lawyers, politicians and divines, and men of every class who can write or speak, consecrate their talents to the diffusion of light, and love, and peace. Should there be an effort, such as the object demands, God will grant his blessing, posterity will be grateful, heaven will be filled with joy and praise, and "the sword shall *not* devour forever."

*This was first published just before the close of the last war with Britain

No. VIII.

Let not the universality of the custom be regarded as an objection to making the attempt. If the custom be wicked and destructive, the more universal, the more important is a reformation. If war is ever to be set aside, an effort must some time be made; and why not now, as well as at any future day? What objection can now be stated, which may not be brought forward at any after period?

If men must have objects for the display of heroism, let their intrepidity be shown in firmly meeting the formidable prejudices of a world in favor of war. Here is an opportunity for the display of such heroism as will occasion no remorse on a dying bed, and such as God will approve at the final reckoning. In this cause, ardent zeal, genuine patriotism, undaunted fortitude the spirit of enterprize, and every quality of mind worthy of a hero, may be gloriously displayed. Who ever displayed a more heroic spirit than St. Paul? For such heroism and love of country as he displayed, the object now proposed will open the most ample field at home and abroad.

There is nothing in the nature of mankind which renders war necessary and unavoidable—nothing which inclines them to it, which may not be overcome by the power of education, may appear from what is discoverable in the two sects already mentioned. The Quakers and Shakers are of the same nature with other people, "men of like passions" with those who uphold the custom of war. All the difference between them and others results from education and habit. The principles of their teachers are diffused through their societies, impressed on the minds of old and young; and an aversion to war and violence is excited, which becomes habitual, and has a governing influence on their hearts, their passions and their lives.

If then it has been proved to be *possible*, by the force of education, to produce such an aversion to war, that people will not *defend* their own lives by acts of violence; shall it be thought impossible by similar means, to destroy the popularity of war, and exclude the deadly custom from the abodes of men?

The following things will perhaps be generally admitted; that the christian religion has abolished the practice of enslaving captives, and in several respects mitigated the evils of war, by introducing milder usages; that if the temper of our Saviour should universally prevail among men, wars *must cease* to the ends of the earth; that the scriptures give reason to hope such a time of peace will result from the influence of the christian religion.

If these views and expectations are well founded, does it not follow of course, that the spirit and custom of war is directly opposed to the principles and spirit of the gospel; that in proportion as the gospel has its proper effect on the minds of men, an aversion

to war must be excited; and that it is the duty of every Christian to do all in his power to bring the custom into disrepute, and to effect its abolition?

Can it be consistent with due regard to the gospel, for Christians to hold their peace, while they see a custom prevailing which annually sweeps off myriads of their brethren, hurrying them into eternity by violence and murder? Can they forbear to exert themselves, to put an end to this *voluntary plague?* Can we feel a conviction that war is in its nature opposed to the principles and spirit of our religion, and that it is the purpose of God to put an end to this scourge by the influence of the gospel; and still sleep on without any effort to produce the effect, which we believe is intended by our heavenly Father?

If the christian religion is to put an end to war, it must be by the efforts of those who are under its influence. So long therefore as Christians acquiesce in the custom, the desirable event will be delayed.

Christianity is not itself a powerful intelligent *agent.* It is neither a God, an angel, nor a man. It is only a system of divine instructions, relating to *duty* and *happiness;* to be used by men for their own benefit, the benefit of each other, and the honor of its Author. Like all other instructions, they are of no use any farther than they are regarded and reduced to practice.

In what way then is it possible that Christianity should put an end to war, but by enlightening the minds of men, as to the evil of the custom, and exciting them to an opposite course of conduct? Is it *possible* that the custom of war should be abolished by the influence of religion, while Christians themselves are its advocates?

If God has appointed that men should be saved by the *preaching* of the gospel, the gospel *must be preached,* or the *end* will never be accomplished. So if he has appointed that by the same gospel this world shall be delivered from war, this also must be effected by similar means. The tendency of the gospel to this effect must be illustrated and enforced; its opposition to war must be displayed in the *lives of Christians;* and men must be influenced by gospel motives to cease from destroying one another.

There are other effects, which we expect will be produced by Christianity, namely, the abolition of *heathen idolatry,* and the various modes of offering *human sacrifices.* But how are these events to be brought about? Do we expect that our Bibles will spread their covers for wings, fly through the world, and convert the nations, without the agency of Christians? Should we expect the gospel would ever convert the heathen from their idolatry, if those, who profess to be its friends, should themselves generally encourage idolaters in their present courses, by a compliance with their customs? Such expectations would be just as reasonable, as to expect the gospel will occasion wars to cease, without the exertions of

Christians, and while they countenance the custom by their own examples.

It will perhaps be pleaded, that mankind are not yet sufficiently enlightened, to apply the principles of the gospel for the abolition of war; and that we must wait for a more improved state of society. *Improved in what?* in the science of blood? Are such improvements to prepare the way for peace? Why not wait a few centuries, until the natives of India become more improved in their idolatrous customs, before we attempt to convert them to Christianity? Do we expect that by continuing in the practice of idolatry, their minds will be prepared to receive the gospel? If not, let us be consistent, and while we use means for the conversion of heathens, let means also be used for the conversion of Christians. For war is in fact a heathenish and savage custom, of the most malignant, most desolating, and most horrible character. It is the greatest curse, and results from the grossest delusions that ever afflicted a guilty world.

NOTE.

After the preceding pages were chiefly in type, I saw for the first time, "The COMPLAINT OF PEACE" and "ANTIPOLEMON," written by Erasmus. The coincidence of opinions and remarks must strike every reader, who shall compare the writings of Erasmus with this Review. He will, however, also perceive a disparity of eloquence not much to the honor of the latter. But should the Review be only the occasion of exciting Christians to read the more important work of Erasmus, my labour will neither be in vain nor regretted. In his discussion of the subject, there is a display of reason, religion and eloquence, calculated to convince every mind, which is not strongly fortified by the delusions of prejudice, and to interest every heart which is less hardened than Pharaoh's. It is indeed astonishing that even popish prejudices could resist the force of his reasoning against the custom of war. As a specimen of his spirit and style, we quote the following passages, in reference to the custom of using the symbol of the Cross for a *standard*, partaking of the Lord's Supper before going to battle, and saying the Lord's prayer.

"The absurdest circumstance of all those respecting the use of the CROSS as a *standard* is, that you see it glittering and waving high in air, in *both* the contending armies at once. Divine service is performed to the same Christ in both armies at the same time. What a shocking sight! LO CROSSES dashing against CROSSES, and CHRIST on this side *firing bullets* at CHRIST on the other; Cross against Cross, and Christ against Christ!" He adds:—

"Let us now imagine we hear a soldier among these *fighting* Christians saying the Lord's prayer. 'OUR FATHER,' says he: O, hardened wretch! can you call HIM *Father*, when you are just going to cut your *brother's* throat? '*Hallowed be thy name;*' how can the name of God be more impiously *unhallowed*, than by mutual bloody murder among you, his sons? '*Thy kingdom come*;' do you pray for the coming of *his kingdom*, while you are endeavoring to establish an *earthly despotism*, by the spilling of the blood of God's sons and subjects? '*Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven*;' His *will* in heaven is for PEACE, but you are now meditating WAR. Dare you say to your Father in heaven, '*Give us this day our daily bread*,' when you are going the next minute to burn your *brother's cornfields*; and had rather lose the benefits of them yourself, than suffer him to enjoy them unmolested? With what face can you say, '*Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us*,' when so far from *forgiving* your own brother,

you are going, with all the haste you can, to *murder* him in cold blood, for an alleged trespass, which after all is but imaginary? Do you presume to deprecate *danger* of '*temptation*,' who, not without great danger to yourself, are doing all you can to force your *brother* into danger? Do you deserve to be *delivered from evil*, that is, from the *evil being* to whose impulse you submit yourself, and by whose spirit you are guided, in contriving the greatest possible evil to your brother?"

It may be doubted whether a complete history of all the conduct of infernal spirits would contain any thing more inconsistent, more abominable, or more to be deplored, than has appeared in the history of *warring christians*. To behold two contending armies, from christian nations, so deluded as mutually to offer prayers to the same benevolent God, for success in their attempts to butcher each other, is enough to fill the mind of any considerate person with amazement and horror, yea, a sight like this might cause weeping in heaven, and triumph in hell!

LINES

Occasioned by the efforts now making to disseminate Pacific Principles.

From the Herald of Peace, No. 25.

What gifts, what grace, has heaven bestow'd on thee,
Queen of the Isles, and Consort of the Sea,
O England! land of intellectual might,
Of philosophic lore, and gospel light;
Exalted "like a city on a hill,"
"With all thy faults" a land of freedom still;
A land of many righteous, whence proceed
Pure aims, high thought, and energetic deed.
First from thy shores, o'er Afric's countless wrongs,
Burst the loud clamour of a thousand tongues;
'Tis thine to sooth the wretched, lead the blind,
And fertilize a wilderness of mind;
From thee a zealous self-denying band
Proclaim glad tidings over sea and land;
By thee the sacred rolls of truth unfurl'd,
Shed light and comfort o'er a wondering world:
These crown thee first of nations, grace thy name
With real glory, and unsullied fame.
Yet one foul stain thy just renown shall mar,
Thy lordly pride, thy ardent love of War;
Thy haughty mien, thy domineering tone,
Thy thirst of vengeance, quench'd by blood alone:
Hence jealous nations execrate thy power,
And triumph o'er thee in misfortune's hour:
E'en when thou deal'st destruction on thy foe,
Straight on thyself recoils the deadly blow.
Exhausted, faint, thou bleed'st at every pore,
And fell disease corrodes thy vitals' core.

Hence swarms a lawless and terrific brood,
Rank from the school of rapine, guile, and blood;
Hence lamentation through the land prevails,
And misery in all its dire details;
Toil, want, and mourning in thy rural seats,
Despair and fury in thy crowded streets;
Hatred among the sons whom thou hast rear'd,
And curses deep, where blessings should be heard.
Not such the purpose of the heavenly birth,
Fraught with good will to man, and peace on earth,
And glory to the Highest—Not the theme
Of Him who came to bless and to redeem,
Grace in his words, and healing in his hand,
Peace his last gift, and love his last command;
Not such the path his friends and followers trod,
Not such the fervour in their hearts that glow'd,
For Truth; the warriors of unconquer'd mind,
Careless of self, but ardent for mankind,
Just, patient, temperate, and subdued in will,
Scorn'd, wrong'd, and hated, but forgiving still.

O England! When thou weepest in the dust,
For all the sins of thy ambition's lust,
For all the blood thy avarice has shed,
For all the misery thy revenge has spread;
When Peace-makers shall gain the high applause
Now falsely lavish'd on the Warrior's cause;
When thy instructers shall true wisdom speak,
Thy chiefs be merciful, thy people meek;
Thy power display'd to succour, save, and bless;
Still brave, but in the war of righteousness;—
Then shall indeed the "glorious gospel" shine,
Its promis'd graces shall be richly thine;
Enduring bliss shall be thy recompense,
The guardian of thy weal Omnipotence;
And thou a land belov'd of Heaven shalt be,
Renown'd alike for Peace and Liberty.

Plymouth. C.

THE FRIEND OF PEACE,

No. I.

A SPECIAL INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND OMAR, AN OFFICER DISMISSED FOR DUELLING.

President. YOUR countenance, sir, I think I have seen before, but your name I do not recollect.

Omar. May it please your excellency, I am Omar, the man who was lately an officer in the military service, and who was dismissed for some concern in an affair of honor. I have for some time been desirous of an interview on that subject.

P. It was painful to me, to issue the order for your removal. I had no personal animosity against you; but I had become convinced, that unless something could be done to check that needless and inhuman custom, many valuable men would lose their lives, without any service to their country.

O. I was indeed offended, when I was informed of your determination; but afterwards I took the matter under serious consideration, and became fully convinced, that duelling is a wicked, unwarrantable custom, which occasions the sacrifice of many lives, and the distress of many families, without any benefit to community. I therefore entirely approve your conduct in removing me from office, and thank you for your fidelity.

P. I am much pleased to see in you a disposition so friendly and magnanimous. Your views of duelling are clearly correct. I sincerely wish they may become universal, that human lives may no more be sacrificed to false principles of honor. You, my good friend, now stand on fair ground to be eminently useful in preserving the lives of valuable members of society,

by an effort to open their eyes to the enormity of a custom, which has made such deplorable inroads among men of rank. No one disputes your valor, and as you have become convinced of the evil of the custom, your influence may go far towards its abolition. Only render the custom disreputable, and it will wither away like a weed pulled up by the roots and exposed to the heat of the sun. Popularity is the only element in which such a murderous custom can thrive, or even live, among men of reflection. To save your fellow men from untimely death, is an object which your benevolent mind will pursue with ardor. And any aid which it may be proper for me to give, will not be withheld.

O. I thank you, sir, for the kind sentiments you have expressed. I think I should be willing to exert myself to put an end to duelling, if I could see a fair prospect of success. But you are aware, sir, that the prepossessions of many gentlemen, especially in the southern states, are very strong in favor of the custom. Should I write or speak much on the subject, I shall probably be dubbed with the title of *puritan* or *fanatic*, and bring on myself much reproach, without being able to do any considerable good.

P. A man of pure mind and benevolent heart, has little to fear from being called a *puritan*. As to *fanatics*, I am not acquainted with any persons more deserving that name, than those who will wantonly sacrifice their own lives, and the lives of others, to false principles of honor, without even the prospect of benefit to themselves, their families, or their country.

O. I feel the force of your remarks. I am disposed to do what I can to preserve men from untimely death; but I must rely on your patronage.

P. Of that you may feel assured, in so good a cause. I have long lamented the prevalence of duelling, but I never saw before so fair a prospect of opposing it with effect. I am determined to bear a decided testimony against it, while I hold the presidency, by dismissing every military officer in the army or the navy, who shall be guilty of giving or accepting a challenge, or of instigating others to such a combat. I indeed

hope, that what has been already done will prevent a repetition of such murderous folly, for I have no wish for an occasion to express my displeasure against military men; but my resolution is fixed. They must forbear, or be dismissed.

O. Decision in this particular will, I think, make a powerful impression; and it is a fortunate circumstance, that the Prince Regent of Great Britain has adopted a similar course. This places the military officers under both governments on the same ground; and the cooperation of different governments for the same benevolent object, will render the efforts doubly efficacious.

P. You remember the impression which was made on the public mind, by the fatal duel between General Hamilton and Colonel Burr. I think a very great portion of gentlemen at that time would have been really glad to see the custom fairly set aside. Many, I am persuaded, feel as Hamilton did, as to the propriety and morality of the custom; and would never comply with it, if any thing could be done, which, in their view, would free them from odium in a refusal. Now, as the custom wholly depends on a delusive opinion, like that which formerly prevailed of burning heretics, any measures which may be adopted to change the opinions of those who favor the custom, will tend to its abolition. Would it not then be wise to form societies, in which the subject should be fully discussed, and whose object should be to effect a revolution in the opinions of that class of people who regard the custom as honorable?

O. Such a plan, I think, would have a happy tendency. I know of a number, who sincerely regret that the custom was ever adopted; and who, I think, would cheerfully associate for the purpose you propose, could they only be headed by some powerful character. The project would be greatly favored by this circumstance, that the sentiments of serious people in general, and indeed of a vast portion of community, are already so decidedly opposed to the custom, that they would rejoice in any effort to bring it into universal disrepute. In New England the custom is generally regarded with abhorrence, as a *privileged mode of murder*, assumed by gentlemen, in violation

of the laws of justice and reason, as well as the laws of the land. Thousands, in perhaps every state, view the matter in the same light, and the more it is examined, the more it will be abhorred. Could we only obtain the concurrence of twenty persons, such as I could name, to unite with the mass of people already prepared for the enterprize, I think it would be possible in twenty years, to render the custom of duelling as perfectly odious, as that of horse stealing.

P. "The power of reasoning," says Dr. Reid, "in those who have it, may be abused in morals, as in other matters. To a man who uses it with an upright heart, and a single eye to find what is his duty, it will be of great use; but when it is used to justify what a man has a strong inclination to do, it will only serve to deceive himself and others, When a man can reason, his passions will reason, and they are the most cunning sophists we meet with." It is by the reasoning of "the passions," these "cunning sophists," that gentlemen persuade themselves that they may be justified in exposing their own lives, and the lives of others, in the custom of duelling. If they would lay aside their passions, and reason impartially, they would easily see, that it would be as justifiable in any other class of citizens, even in women and children, to adopt a murderous mode of settling controversies, as it is in them. Yet they would now use their influence to have other people hanged for imitating their own example. It is indeed amazing that men of sense can be thus bewildered by the influence of their passions, and the popularity of a barbarous custom, which had its origin in an age of savage manners. What security would be given to the lives of gentlemen, and from what anxiety would their families be relieved, if this custom should become disreputable among that class of men! The fate of Hamilton and Burr is a solemn lesson to all men of reputation, who favor the custom. Burr succeeded in killing the object of his envy, but what has been his own fate? What advantage has he gained? Before the duel he sustained a high rank in society, but since, like his predecessor Cain, he has been a vagabond in the earth.

O. The public have no occasion to thank Colonel Burr; yet I am of opinion that his duel has had a favorable influence against the practice. Indeed I have believed that my dismissal was occasioned by the influence which that event had on your mind, and the minds of others. But still I rejoice in the issue. It has been useful to me, and I hope it will be so to others. Various circumstances concurred to make the duel of those men serviceable in the way I have mentioned. Hamilton was unquestionably one of the most eminent men in the nation, in the view of both political parties. His fall occasioned a shock like that of an earthquake, and prepared the minds of the multitude to listen to whatever was said against the custom. The clergy availed themselves of this opportunity, to express their abhorrence of the practice, and to exhibit it in the most odious colors; and what they said was listened to with seriousness and gratification. The trivial nature, also, of the offence, which Burr made the ground of the challenge, was calculated to lead people to regard his conduct with detestation.

P. Another thing may be mentioned, which had great effect—the deliberate testimony which Hamilton gave in writing against the custom, as immoral and murderous. This testimony was evidently written with a kind of presentiment that the duel would cost him his life. That a man of his giant mind should be seduced by popular opinion, to comply with a custom, which he conscientiously believed to be wicked, was truly extraordinary. Judicious and reflecting persons could easily perceive by the writing which he left, that the convictions of his own mind were decidedly against the custom, as of a barbarous and immoral character; and that his compliance was the effect of what he believed to be the popular opinion among gentlemen of honor. He evidently sacrificed his own life to an opinion which he believed to be erroneous, and to a custom which he regarded as abominable.

The offence, on which the challenge was given, was indeed of a trivial nature, compared with the mode of obtaining redress. At a time when party spirit is prevalent in a community, as it then was and is now, if such things as Burr made

the ground of the challenge, may be regarded as sufficient to justify a duel, fifty thousand may be fought in this country every year. And if every class of people may follow such examples, as surely they may if commendable, the custom would sweep the land of its inhabitants like a general plague. No person would be secure from falling a victim to the prejudices and passions of some political opponent. Men of rank should certainly consider what would be the consequences, if all other classes of community should follow their example, in making thus light of human life. Indeed the offences in general, on the ground of which duels are fought, are hardly worthy of the notice of a man of a noble and magnanimous mind. They are generally the ebullitions of passion and prejudice, to which all men are liable, and none more so than duellists. The custom is so far from being honorable, or a compliance with it an indication of a generous mind, that it is an indication of petulance and malignity unbecoming any man of honor. By a conformity to this custom, men do not even rise above the most petulant and ferocious of the brute creation. They fall far below the magnanimity of the mastiff, who can hear the barking of twenty snappish curs, without breaking his trot, or being moved so much as to turn his head to notice them.

The custom of duelling cherishes and gives scope to the vilest passions of the human heart, renders men bloody and ferocious on principle, and tends to exterminate the kind affections, which are most essential to social happiness.

To see men of rank thus trifle with human life, must naturally have considerable effect on the other classes of society. It must excite abhorrence, or inspire them with similar feelings and sentiments. The more, therefore, this custom prevails, the greater must be the insecurity of human life, the greater the corruption of morals in society, and the more a blood thirsty disposition will prevail through the land.

O. Your excellency will excuse my weakness——

P. You seem, sir, to be oppressed with grief, or some other emotion, for which I cannot account.

O. *Regret*, *shame*, *admiration*, and *astonishment*, have all combined, and overcome me. I regret that I ever gave the least countenance to a custom so sanguinary. I am ashamed that I so long remained blind to the obvious dictates of reason and religion, and that I suffered my mind to be seduced by the sophistical reasoning of the passions. I was struck with admiration at your manner of expressing the real sentiments of my own heart. I may truly say, as honest and illiterate individuals often say on hearing an eloquent, intelligent man, "you have expressed my views of the subject better than I could have expressed them myself." But I was also *astonished.*

P. What excited your astonishment?

O. I was astonished, that while you see so clearly the immoral nature, and the demoralizing and fatal tendency of duelling, you have not seemed aware how easily your remarks might be applied to another custom, which has been still more popular, and more destructive.

P. You mean probably the ancient custom of killing men for their religious opinions, when they happened to dissent from the creed of the majority.

O. No, sir; that is not the custom I had in view, but one as unreasonable, and more destructive to the lives of men. Perhaps at an earlier moment of our interview I should have disclosed more fully the result of those reflections, to which I was led by being removed from office. But I have felt a delicacy in the affair, and some fears lest I should say something which would not be so acceptable to your excellency, as what I have said on a custom which we mutually abhor.

P. The ingenuous and amiable spirit you have displayed, in regard to your removal from office, has gained my confidence and esteem. You may speak without reserve. I think I shall hear with patience, and I hope with impartiality.

O. To be frank, sir, when I had reflected on the moral nature of duelling, and become fully convinced of its injustice and enormity, I was then led to compare this custom with that of war, for which also I had been an advocate. The

more I pondered, the more I was struck with the similarity of the principles, on which the two customs have been supported. On the whole, I became fully convinced, that war has no advantage of duelling in respect to its being *necessary*, *justifiable*, or *honorable;* and that it is as much worse than duelling, as it is more destructive to the lives of innocent people.

P. You surprize me, sir! Are you not aware that war has been admitted for the settlement of national controversies, in all ages and all countries, as far back as history extends?

O. I am, sir: But had duelling been as uniformly and universally admitted, as the best method of settling disputes between individuals, would that amount to proof of the propriety of the custom?

P. It would not. There is, however, a striking dissimilarity in the two cases. Duelling results from the folly and rashness of presumptuous individuals, who assume a right to expose their own lives, and to destroy one another. But war is made by *lawful authority*, by the deliberate counsels of the rulers of a nation.

O. Suppose then, that the rulers of a civilized nation should deliberately authorize duels, as the best mode of deciding private controversies; would this abate the malignant and odious nature of the custom? And would not such a set of rulers be justly considered as barbarians?

P. Be this as it may; you will admit that the *offences*, for which wars are declared, are of a more serious nature, than those for which duels are fought.

O. No, sir, not always. One half the wars in christendom have been declared without any real offence at all, or on as frivolous pretexts as challenges are given by duellists. Offences may be called either great or small only by comparison; and to make a fair estimate in the two cases, we should compare the offences with the probable consequences of an appeal to arms. The offences for which duels are fought appear trifling, compared with the probable and the possible consequences of seeking redress by a challenge. When a duel is to be fought for the decision of a private dispute between two gen-

tlemen, it is *probable* that *one*, and *possible* that *both* the combatants will be killed; and that one or both of their family connexions will be subjected to mourning and woe. Now certainly it must be an offence of a more serious nature than usually occurs, to justify an appeal to pistols or swords, with such awful prospects as the result; and it is in this view of the matter that the usual pretexts for duels appear altogether insufficient and trifling.

P. This is granted.

O. Well, sir, in the present state of the civilized nations of christendom, when a war is declared, it must be done with a *probability* that sixty thousand lives will be sacrificed, and a much greater number of families subjected to severe affliction; and with a *possibility* that ten times this amount of suffering will be the consequence of making war. In what instance, then, has a war been declared, when the offence was not trifling, compared with the probable and possible consequences of an appeal to arms? The challenge for a duel exposes but *two* lives; the declaration of war as really exposes a hundred thousand. Are then the offences, for which war is usually declared, a hundred thousand times greater, than those for which challenges are given? If not, they are very insufficient to justify war.

P. But the *honor* of a nation will not allow a government to submit to insult or aggression. If they submit in one case they may in another; and every instance of submission is an invitation to renewed insult. It is of the highest importance to a nation, that its rulers should be ever ready to vindicate its *honor*, by an appeal to arms.

O. And what, may it please your excellency, does all this amount to, but the plea of a duellist from the lips of a ruler? You have admitted that duelling is practised in support of *false principles of honor*, and that the sacrifices thus made are wanton and needless. But an appeal to arms in vindication of honor, is no more necessary on the part of a nation, than on the part of a military officer, or any other gentleman. The delusion is the same in both cases—dishonorable and ruinous

sacrifices are made to a *phantom* called *honor*, while TRUE HONOR is but little regarded.

P. But what could the rulers of a nation do in a case like ours before the late war? We complained of wrongs, repeated and urged our complaints over and over again, but the British government forbore redress, till our patience was exhausted.

O. What would you advise a gentleman of honor to do in a similar case? His brother has insulted him, or said something by which his honor is wounded. The complainant has repeatedly stated his grievances, but redress is delayed. Would you advise him to send a challenge, and then, if he can, blow a ball through his brother's heart? Would you also advise him to kill off half a score of his brother's family, who never have done him, nor even wished him, the least injury?

P. Not so! this would be horrible; but you have not given a direct answer to my question; *what could have been done to avoid the war?*

O. THE VERY SAME, SIR, THAT WAS DONE TO MAKE PEACE. Nothing more, I think, could have been necessary. Such a treaty as we now have, had it been made before the war, would have saved all the sacrifices of blood and treasure on both sides of the contest. And your excellency will not deny, that such a treaty might have been obtained before the war, at less expense than the support of one of our commissioners at Ghent.

P. But the war has *raised our national character*, and evinced that other nations are not to injure us with impunity.

O. May it please your excellency, I admit that the war has raised our national character just as a duellist raises his own character when he gives a challenge, *fights bravely*, injures his antagonist, receives a wound which must be a burden for life, and then makes peace without any other concession or recompense.

P. I will not impute to you any unfriendly design, but your remarks *seem* to have a bearing against me, as president of the nation.

O. Be assured, sir, that nothing unfriendly or disrespectful

has been or will be intended by me. I have been myself an advocate both for war and duelling. The measures you adopted to check duelling, were the occasion of my present views on both subjects. On the subject of duelling we are now perfectly agreed. I wish to recompense your favor to me, by convincing you that war and duelling are equally unjustifiable.

P. It would be awful to me, to think of the havoc of lives during the late war, should I become of your opinion. I think, however, no person acquainted with me can say, that I am naturally of a malignant and sanguinary character. Some circumstances had influence to induce me to consent to the war, which it may not be proper to name. But of this you may rest assured, that I did not consent to the war under a conviction, that the *custom of war* was murderous and unjustifiable, as General Hamilton consented to a duel with Burr.

O. By what he supposed to be the popular opinion, General Hamilton was induced to think that, all things considered, it was better for him to comply with a custom, which he believed to be immoral, than to refuse. And although your excellency had not been convinced that the custom of war was unjustifiable, yet some respectable characters have been of the opinion, that you consented to the war, not so much from a conviction of its justice, as from a desire to gratify some others, and to give scope to what you thought was the popular feeling. But whether this apprehension be correct, I pretend not to say. I believe that your friends in general do not impute to you a sanguinary character.

P. I verily thought, and still think, that we had received injuries from Great Britain; I supposed the custom of war to be justifiable; and I had reason to think that the war would be popular with that part of the nation which raised me to the presidency. The war has not, indeed, produced all the benefits I hoped for: but peace is again restored, and I regard it as a blessing. Your remarks on war have made some impression on my mind. If I have been in an error, it is of a serious nature, and I wish to know the truth. But the evening is far spent. If you wish to make any farther communications to me on the subject of war, will it not be best to do it

by letter? In this way you will have opportunity to set your arguments in the strongest light, and I shall have opportunity to examine them with greater attention and advantage. Whatever may be the result, I will read with care, and endeavor to weigh your reasoning in an even balance.

O. Both your candor and your proposal strike my mind agreeably. I shall reflect on them with pleasure, and I think I shall write, for my heart is filled with the subject, and from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks, and the pen moves with ease. You may probably think me an enthusiast; but my enthusiasm leads me to endeavor to save men's lives, and not to destroy them. Such enthusiasm I would gladly diffuse through the land, and through the world. Should it become as general and as ardent, as has been the destructive enthusiasm for war and violence, our present peace will never be interrupted. Without the least hesitation, I submit to the good sense of your excellency one question, and with that shall close, on my part, the present agreeable interview—Which is the most to be commended and encouraged, an enthusiasm to *save*, or an enthusiasm to *destroy*?

P. You do me justice in believing, that I cannot hesitate in so plain a case. Farewel, my very good friend, farewel.

SIX LETTERS FROM OMAR TO THE PRESIDENT.

LETTER I.

SIR,

ENCOURAGED by your generous proposal, I now take my pen to express to you more fully my convictions and my views relating to war.

Your excellency is aware, that ardor of mind leads to the use of strong language, in expressing opinions, and in making remarks on what is believed to be inhuman and unjustifiable. But whatever language my enthusiasm to save the lives of men may lead me to adopt, I beg you would consider my letters as written with the same feelings of friendship and respect, which you observed in me during the late interview. I do not consider you, or any of the rulers of our nation, as un-

der any greater mistake on the subject of war, than what has been common to the rulers of other nations, and to people in general; and whatever bearing my remarks may have on the late war, they will not proceed from enmity to any person concerned in that lamentable affair. My object is, if possible, to prevent a recurrence of a similar calamity, by exposing what I believe to be the misapprehensions from which wars have originated. I do not pretend to say, that we had not as good ground for declaring war against Great Britain, as has been generally found by war-makers in past ages, and other countries. By examining history I have become fully convinced, that the pretexts for war have generally been of a very trivial character; and that the real objects of war have commonly been concealed under a huge proclamation of pretended injuries, or of some real injuries artfully and wantonly exaggerated. Having premised these things, I now proceed to the intended remarks.

Your excellency removed me from office, because you had become convinced, that unless a check could be given to the custom of duelling, many valuable men would lose their lives, without any service to their country. This I admitted as a sufficient reason against duelling, and for your treatment of me. But for a similar reason I object to wars, and wish the custom abolished. Let us, sir, examine the subject fairly, and enquire whether the lives lost in war are not sacrificed "without any service to their country." We will look at some of the most celebrated wars.

Alexander the Great was a wonderful war-maker. In his wars a vast multitude of men lost their lives. But what advantage to Macedon, or to any other country, were the sacrifices made to the ambition of that celebrated conqueror? Did he not distress his own country, as well as every country he invaded? Were not more lives lost in his wars, than have been lost in all the duels since the day that "Cain slew his brother?" And what more advantage resulted to any nation from the loss of lives in the wars of Alexander, than from those which have been sacrificed in duelling?

Not needlessly to multiply examples, we will now come

down to our own times. No nation probably in our day has sacrificed more lives in war than the French. Napoleon was another Alexander, and he kept a large portion of the French nation dressed in mourning, or oppressed with grief during his reign. Has France, sir, been benefitted by this immense sacrifice? That people have indeed obtained the name of being *brave to fight.* But is not this nearly the sum of their *gain?* Let this be compared with the *loss.* Will the *credit* of fighting bravely cancel the *debt* of millions of lives sacrificed, and the distress of more millions of mourners? If not, it may be presumed, that France is no gainer by the wars of Napoleon. Then add to the loss, the misery he occasioned in the countries he invaded, and what shall we say of that destroyer? Was he not truly "the scourge of God," and the greatest *curse* Europe ever endured in one man?

We will now, sir, come nearer home. In the late war with Great Britain, we have probably lost a hundred fold more lives than have ever been lost by duelling in our country, since its first settlement. And, pray sir, have not these lives been lost "without any service to their country," except such *honor* as a duellist acquires by fighting bravely, after he has given a challenge? But is this honor an equivalent for the loss of thirty thousand of our countrymen, and the destruction of as many more on the part of Great Britain? Does this honor heal the breaches made in thirty thousand families? Does it dry up the tears of mourning parents, widows, and orphans? Does it cancel the debts contracted by the war, and relieve the people from the burden of taxes? Does it place the thousands in comfortable circumstances, who were made bankrupts by the war? Does it insure the bliss of heaven to those who have died in battle?

One question more in this connexion. Would your excellency have given your *own life* to have secured to the nation every benefit that has been obtained by the war? If not, at what rate do you value the lives of those who have perished, if you say the war has been a benefit to the nation?

Yet, sir, I will not say, that no benefits are likely to result from the war. As the war between Hamilton and Burr was

the occasion of exciting abhorrence to the custom of duelling; so I believe the late war will serve to open many eyes, and be the occasion of bringing this "needless, inhuman custom" into disrepute. Some farther remarks may be expected in future letters.

In the mean time, I am, &c.

LETTER II.

SIR,

You think the custom of duelling is so far from being honorable, that by complying with it, men do not "rise above the most petulant and ferocious animals," and that they "fall far below the magnanimity of the mastiff." This perfectly corresponds with my views of the conduct of rulers in making war. You will then permit me to ask, Should not the rulers of a nation display as much magnanimity as you wish to see in military officers and private gentlemen? Ought they not to equal the mastiff in magnanimity? Shall we then censure the duellist for a private combat, and justify a ruler in plunging a whole nation into the miseries of war?

You speak of the *honor* of a nation as of vast importance. I admit that it is so; but in what does the honor of a nation consist? Does it consist in being *quick to resent* and *brave to fight?* If honor be composed of such ingredients, why do you discountenance duelling? Why do you not rather wish the whole nation to be trained up to that mode of displaying valor? A nation educated as duellists, would unquestionably be quick to resent and brave in battle.

But, sir, does not the honor of a nation result from the display of intelligence, prudence, integrity, justice, benevolence, magnanimity, forbearance, prosperity, and happiness? Let these ingredients of national character be displayed before the world, and the revengeful, fighting character will soon be abhorred.

If such things as I have named be the principal things which render a nation truly honorable, is it not manifestly as false a notion of honor which hurries a nation to make war, as that which disposes a duellist to give a challenge? And is

not making war, in effect, making a sacrifice of almost every thing which properly belongs to national honor? Are the rulers of a nation acting an honorable part, while manuring the earth with the blood of its inhabitants? Yea, with innocent blood? Is it truly honorable for them to offer human sacrifices to their own ambition, or to the savage phantom, called honor? Is it honorable for rulers to corrupt the morals of community, and fill their country with poverty, distress, lamentation, and woe? If this be honorable, what could be dishonorable?

You justly object to duelling, that it is of a demoralizing tendency. I object the same to war; and I may boldly affirm, that in this respect, it is far worse than duelling.

You think duellists ought to consider what would be the consequences, if all the people of other classes should imitate their example in making light of human life. But are duellists more chargeable with making light of human life, than rulers who make war? You can be at no loss for the proper answer to this question.

"If duellists were not deluded by the reasoning of their passions," you think "they would see that all other classes of community have as good a right as they have, to adopt a murderous mode of deciding controversies." This was well said, and it may with propriety be repeated, with only changing the word *duellists* for *rulers*—"If *rulers* were not deluded by the reasoning of their passions they would see, that every other class of citizens have as good a right as they have, to adopt a murderous mode of deciding controversies."

If we take a moral view of the subject, and examine it apart from passion, prejudice, and custom, it will not be easy to see, why a murderous mode of deciding controversies would be more criminal in any other case, than in the contentions of rulers of different nations. Why may not different towns in the same state, or different families in the same town, or two individuals of the same family, follow the example of their rulers in this particular? Only let a custom become popular in either of the other cases, and it will puzzle a Jesuit to tell, why it is more immoral, or more inhuman, or more offensive to God, than for the rulers of nations to adopt the same mode.

It may indeed be said, that in civilized communities the laws provide for the settlement of controversies between towns, families and individuals, so as to preclude the necessity of an appeal to arms. This is true; but it is equally true, that the laws of reason and religion provide for the settlement of disputes between nations. Will you plead that these laws do not insure that a nation shall, in all cases, obtain its rights without an appeal to arms? The same, sir, is true of civil laws in relation to the other cases. May I not safely add, that of all modes for obtaining rights, which were ever invented by men, there is not one more uncertain, than that of war? To decide a question of right by lot, or the cast of a die, would be as sure of doing justice, as a decision by war, and infinitely less expensive, and more honorable.

It is easy to see, that if it should become fashionable for towns and families to settle their disputes by war; force, and violence, and fraud, and skill in the use of arms, would become a substitute for reason and justice, and be made the standard of right and wrong. No certainty could exist that right would be obtained, or wrongs redressed, by such decisions. It would, however, be very certain, that wrongs would be multiplied without number, and that the weak and the innocent would fall a prey to violence and injustice. But as awful as it may be to think of, every particular in this description is strictly true, when applied to wars between nations, as a mode of deciding controversies, or of obtaining rights.

In truth, sir, I am not acquainted with any species of violence, or fraud, or injustice, or robbery, or piracy, by which the laws of rectitude are more wantonly violated, than they are by the usages of war. If the laws of rectitude and the rights of humanity are not violated by the custom and usages of war, then robbers, pirates and murderers may safely plead, "*not guilty.*" For what species of violence or villany is committed by these hardened wretches, which is not *authorized* by rulers in making war? Killing the innocent, and violently taking or destroying property, are in fact the employments *appointed* for military men by war-making rulers.

Your excellency observed, that duellists would " use their influence to have people of other classes *hanged* for imitating their own example, in adopting a murderous mode of deciding controversies." May not this remark be emphatically applied to rulers who make war ? Do they not cause private citizens to be hanged for deciding quarrels by slaughter and violence ? And yet, is not this the mode in which they decide their own quarrels ? While they authorize and justify the violent slaughter of the innocent, in their own disputes with the rulers of other nations, they will punish with death similar acts of violence in the private quarrels of their subjects or fellow citizens !

" To see" rulers " thus trifle with human life," in their own quarrels, " must naturally have considerable effect on the other classes of community." To this influence, sir, in my opinion, is to be ascribed the far greater part of all the private murders and robberies which take place in the world. Men who are trained up to robbery and murder by the custom of war, may be expected to *follow their trade*, and not always to wait for the word of command from those in authority. It requires more skill in the science of *jesuitism*, than such men generally possess, to see why it is more criminal for them to kill in their *own* quarrels, than to do the same acts in the quarrels of their rulers ; or to see why they may not rob and plunder the innocent for their own benefit, with the same propriety as to rob and plunder for the benefit of others. When, therefore, by the custom of war, men have become hardened in vice, inured to crime, and habituated to acts of public authorized butchery and robbery ; can it be wonderful if their own wants and inclinations should lead them sometimes to commit similar acts in a more private and unauthorized manner ? Indeed, sir, when it shall be duly considered, how much is done by the custom of war, to corrupt the morals of community, and how many men are trained up to bloody and desperate enterprizes ; the greater wonder will be, that private robberies and murders are not ten times more frequent than they are now known to be in the world. It is, however, to be observed, that men who are accustomed to the violence of war and to

military discipline, very well know, that rulers will applaud acts of violence and inhumanity in one case, and punish them with death in another; and that there is no safety in robbing and murdering, except when it is done in *obedience to the orders of government.*

LETTER III.

SIR,

WITH great propriety your excellency observed of duelling, that "popularity is the only element in which such a murderous custom can thrive, or even live, among men of reflection;" and that "only let the custom become disreputable, and it will wither away like a weed pulled up by the roots, and exposed to the heat of the sun."

The very same, sir, may be as truly affirmed of the more destructive custom of war. It is popularity which keeps this custom alive; it is this which produces the barbarous enthusiasm, to revenge, and to destroy. Let war become disreputable, let an enthusiasm to save the lives of men be excited, and the custom will soon be abhorred, as "a privileged mode of murder," under which rulers have assumed the right of exposing the lives of their own subjects, and of slaughtering the subjects of another nation.

Suppose, sir, that prior to the late war, the people of this country had viewed the custom of war with the same abhorrence that you now do the custom of duelling: Would the war have been declared? Or had it been declared under such circumstances, would not you and some others have known, before this time, as well as I do, what it is to be dismissed from office, for being concerned in "a needless and inhuman custom."

Without any ill will towards your excellency, or any other man in office, I may state another question: Would it not "give a check to the custom" of war, if the people of every nation should adopt your summary mode, and dismiss from office every man who shows a disposition to involve his country in the miseries of war? The Prince Regent of Great Brit-

ain and the President of the United States, have adopted a very laudable method to check duelling. Let the people of the two nations so far imitate the examples of their chief magistrates, as to resolve, that henceforth no person shall be continued in any office of honor or profit, who shall appear as an instigator of war. Then war and duelling will be placed, as they ought to be, on similar ground; and both, I hope, "will wither away like weeds pulled up by the roots, and exposed to the heat of the sun."

You proposed the formation of societies to discuss the subject of duelling, and to employ their influence to effect a revolution in the opinions of those who favor the custom as honorable. In this proposal I cordially acquiesced. I may now in my turn propose the formation of societies, to discuss the subject of war, and to attempt a revolution in the opinions of those who favor this custom. As a thousand lives are sacrificed by war, to one by duelling, there seems to be a thousand fold stronger inducements in the former case, than in the latter. As I said of duelling I may say of war, "the more it is examined, the more it will be abhorred."

Should peace societies be formed, several points will demand their attention.

In the first place, it will behove them to investigate some mode for effecting a reformation in the manner of conducting newspapers—some mode which shall make it for the interest of editors to exclude from their papers every thing of a vindictive and inflammatory character; and to give the preference to such things, as are of a pacific, friendly, and uniting tendency.

No species of publication has more influence on the state and morals of society than newspapers, and none which should be conducted with more care, and with purer motives. It is principally by inflammatory and libellous publications, that society is agitated, enmity excited, and a disposition for war produced. Free and candid discussions should be encouraged, but such things as tend to inflame the minds of people with enmity, or a war spirit, should be discountenanced by every virtuous member of society. For when the passions of a com-

munity are inflamed, reason has lost its control, and such measures will naturally be adopted as passion shall dictate ; and these are commonly such as involve deplorable calamities. Let newspapers be made the vehicles of correct information and pacific sentiments, and the thirst for blood will abate, and the custom of war will lose its popularity. I might say more on this point, but your own reflections will supply many defects.

LETTER IV.

SIR,

I HAVE already hinted at one thing, which would demand the attention of peace societies, should such be formed. I shall now observe, that it would also behove them to inquire, whether the most fatal delusions do not exist respecting *national honor*, *true patriotism*, and the *right or power of rulers to make war*.

By what I have already said, your excellency has an idea of my views of national honor. I may however add a few thoughts on this point.

The opinion which has been entertained of *valor*, or *bravery in battle*, as an *honorable virtue*, was evidently borrowed from the pagans, and not from the gospel of Jesus Christ. Fortitude to *suffer wrong*, and to meet even death itself in the path of obedience to God, rather than to *do wrong*, to *avenge ourselves*, or to *render evil for evil*, is the valor recommended by the precepts and the example of the Prince of Peace. This is a virtue, opposite in its nature and tendency to that vindictive valor, so much extolled by pagans and mahometans, and by such christians as prefer pagan morality to that inculcated by the gospel.

The followers of Jesus were to resemble the harmless sheep and lambs, and not wolves and tigers. But many who have professed to be christians, have gloried in a resemblance to ferocious animals. Nor have they been contented with equalling the wolf and the tiger, in a blood thirsty disposition. They have far surpassed them. The wolf and the tiger are generally contented with devouring animals of different species from

their own; and these they attack, not so much to acquire honor by bravery in battle, as to procure something to satisfy their hunger, and to feed their young. It is believed they have seldom been known to exult in the premeditated slaughter of hundreds of their own species.

But men, yea, men calling themselves christians, are not contented with butchering innumerable other tribes of animals, for food, clothing, and other uses, but they even make what they regard as an *honorable trade*, a *professional employment*, of *killing one another*. This conduct is believed to be peculiar to the human race, and to have no parallel in the history of other beings, in heaven, on earth, nor even in hell. Men glory in their dignity above the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea; but whether their making a trade of destroying one another, is to be regarded as an excellence, as something which contributes to the honor of our race, let conscience and common sense determine. If it be not an honorable distinction between us and other tribes of creation, it is unquestionably something which deserves the abhorrence of every intelligent being.

In our estimation of wild animals, we most abhor those which are most fierce and blood thirsty; yet we extol that in men, as an honorable virtue, which renders other beings objects of our abhorrence. We cannot see a hawk kill a chicken, nor a wolf kill a lamb, without feelings of commiseration for the sufferer, and feelings of indignation or detestation against the destroyer. Yet we can extol as a *virtue* the obdurate, unrelenting, revengeful, and ferocious bravery, with which men can butcher one another in war.

If satan had been appointed or permitted to dictate to christians what they should regard as honorable virtue and national honor, could he have suited himself better, than by proposing the very things, which are now so popular in christian nations? Could he have invented any thing, which would have insured more slaughter of mankind by the hands of each other?

If in the view of God, men are to be regarded as *virtuous*, because they have arrived to such a pitch of hardness, inhumanity, and ferocity, that they can bravely slaughter one another;

and if, in his view, the *honor* of a nation may be raised, by a display of this kind of virtue; then as soon as these things shall be satisfactorily proved, we may be certain, that Jesus was an impostor, and that Mahomet had higher claims to be regarded as a teacher sent from God. But at the same time another conclusion will force itself on the mind, in respect to the moral character of Jehovah, which is too horrid to be expressed.

LETTER V.

SIR,

PATRIOTISM is another thing which requires examination. Like the delusive terms, "Liberty and equality," as used in the French revolution, and often with a view to cover the basest designs; so the word *patriotism* is frequently in the mouths of vindictive war-makers, as a charm, to hurry men to destruction. As patriotism means "love of one's own country," we surely ought to understand by it, love to the lives, the privileges, the virtue, the peace, the prosperity, and the happiness of the community of which we are members.

But as valor and skill in the work of human butchery, are now regarded as the *cardinal virtues*—and as the *honor* of a nation is supposed to be exalted by a display of such virtues; so patriotism is made to consist in an enthusiasm to support government, in making and carrying on a war, which gives opportunity for the display of the wonderful virtues, and to exalt the glory of a nation.

One man ardently wishes to preserve his countrymen from the miseries of war, and from the folly and madness of sacrificing their lives to the pagan idol *honor*—and would sooner lay down his own life to preserve the peace of his country, than be an instrument of involving it in the sins and calamities of war—He is considered as no patriot, but rather as an enemy to his country.

But another man loves his country *so well*, that he is willing to sacrifice fifty or a hundred thousand of his fellow citizens in war, rather than to endure any insult or injury from a foreign power—Here is patriotism, which will raise a man to the skies! No language is sufficient to express his praise! But if

this may be called patriotism, it is patriotism with a vengeance against the best interests of his own country—a patriotism which calls evil good and good evil, and which is *murderous* in proportion as it is *ardent*.

Such love of country is like the love of the papists for the pagans, whom they converted with the sword, killing off one part of a nation, and subjecting those to slavery who chose to be *baptized* rather than *slain*. While these *lovers* of the pagans pretended to bless them with the gospel of salvation, they either deprived them of life, or of the blessings which render life desirable. In a similar manner, the popular patriotism blesses a nation with the honor of being brave to fight, but it is at the expense of killing off a large number of the citizens, and subjecting the survivors to poverty, taxation, mourning, and woe; and not unfrequently to the chains of despotism.

My mind has been so engrossed with my subject, that I had almost forgotten that I was addressing your Excellency; but your candor will excuse such inattentions as may have resulted from an enthusiasm to save the lives of men, and to preserve my country from another war. My present views of patriotism were not cast in the popular mould; but I think, should they prevail, they will be found conducive to the tranquillity and happiness of mankind; and this is an object worthy to be sought with ardor. Should you doubt the correctness of my views of patriotism, I wish you to compare them with the patriotism of the Savior of men. At present I feel disposed to regard HIM as my pattern, rather than those I formerly followed. However much he might have been insulted, he would not, I think, have *fought a duel*, to vindicate his honor; yet few persons have displayed more intrepidity of character, than appeared in him. Nor do I think he would have advised a ruler to plunge his nation into the horrid abyss of war, that its *virtue* might be displayed, and its *honor* advanced by bravely slaughtering the innocent people of another country. And is it not a circumstance worthy of some notice, that in pronouncing his benedictions, on virtuous characters, such as the "merciful," the "peace makers," &c. he omitted to say—"*Blessed are the war makers; for they shall be called true patriots.*" This omission has impressed my mind with a belief,

that the common encomiums on fighting men, are not very sure passports to the joys of heaven, nor much to be relied on as recommendations to divine favor.

In my next, I intend to give a brief illustration of the mistakes relating to national honor, virtue, and patriotism.

LETTER VI.

SIR,

In my last, I promised an illustration. You will recollect the allusion you made in our interview, to the custom of our ancestors in putting men to death for a dissent from the majority in religious opinions. That custom will favor us with a striking illustration of the points before us, and of the fatal consequences which result from false notions of *honor*, *virtue*, and *patriotism*.

In former ages, when the custom prevailed to which you alluded, it was supposed that the *honor* of the Christian church required, that dissenters from the orthodox faith should be put to death; and that by such sacrifices the *purity* of the church was preserved, and its *honor* secured and advanced. Having imbibed this false principle respecting the honor of the church, our ancestors were very naturally led to another most dreadful mistake—namely, that a flaming zeal to destroy supposed heretics, was love to the honor and best interests of Christ and his kingdom. By these two false principles, the peace and happiness of the church were in a great measure destroyed, and millions of lives were sacrificed.

Your excellency will agree with me, that the honor of a Christian church results from the display of mutual love, fidelity, forbearance, and kindness among its members, in conformity to the commands of their Lord and Savior; and not from making such havoc of each other's lives, on account of some differences in opinion. You will also agree with me, that those ancient Christians were under an awful mistake, in supposing that their *burning zeal* for the slaughter of dissenting brethren, was any thing of the nature of that *love*, which Jesus required of his followers, and which he himself exemplified.

I may now appeal to the good sense of your excellency, and ask, Were these ancient mistakes respecting the honor of the church, and love to its best interest, any greater than the mistakes which then prevailed, and which still prevail, respecting the honor of a nation and love of country? And have not the latter mistakes occasioned a hundred fold more desolation and misery than the former?

Is it not, sir, a fact, that in every sanguinary custom, which was ever popular among men, some false notion of *honor* has been established, with corresponding ideas of *virtue?* Is not this as strictly true of every other sanguinary custom, as of duelling, and burning men for their religious opinions? I believe sir, that on reflection, you will be convinced, that such is the truth of facts; and that most of those who have ridiculed the fanaticism of papists and protestants of former ages, are themselves as really fanatics in regard to the custom of war, the honor of a nation, the virtue of fighting bravely, and love of country. The custom of war is supported by a fanaticism *as black* and *as bloody*, as any that can be named. You will remember who said, "As to *fanatics*, I am not acquainted with any persons more deserving of that name, than those who will wantonly sacrifice their own lives and the lives of others, to false principles of honor, without any prospect of advantage to themselves, their families, or their country:" Nor is it possible for you to deny that more human lives have been thus wantonly sacrificed in war, than by every other species of fanaticism, that ever existed on the face of the earth.

For a long period of time, the papal clergy claimed the right of condemning men to suffer death, who happened to dissent from their creed. This conduct, I presume, you disapprove; and you probably wonder how clergymen could be so deluded, as to imagine they had any such right; and how other classes of people could be prevailed on to submit to such daring usurpation, over the consciences and lives of men. But there are questions, which every protestant ruler may well address to his own conscience:—What right have I to entice, or to compel, those under my government, to arm themselves with weapons of death, and enter the ranks of an army, for the

purpose of slaughtering the unoffending subjects of a foreign government? Is not the power I assume over the lives of men, as positively unjust and inhuman, as the power assumed by the papal clergy? And is it not wonderful, that any intelligent community can be so deluded, as to think I have of right any such power?

This subject, sir, I could pursue, had I leisure for the purpose; but to save some labor to myself, and still do what I can in this all important cause, I shall enclose with this, a copy of a "Review of the power assumed by rulers, over the lives of men and the laws of God, in making war." This review was written by a person, with whom I have some acquaintance; but, I believe, without any expectation that it would ever fall into your hands. I am, however, permitted to send it to you, on this condition, that you should be informed, that the writer intended the piece as a *general review* of the subject, without any particular application to the rulers of one nation rather than another; and that it is far from his wish, to excite enmity against the rulers of his own nation. While he thinks they have erred, he wishes them well, and hopes they never will err in like manner again.

Your excellency will perceive that the sentiments of the Review, at least many of them, accord with those I have had the pleasure of communicating. If the author is correct on the point he has discussed, as I prevailingly think he is, there is an alarming error in the world on that subject, and a tremendous retribution awaits those who assume the power of *making war*. But your excellency professed a desire to know the truth, and a determination to read with candor, and to judge impartially. This must be my apology, if I need any, for the freedom I have indulged in my letters, and for sending the Review. With sincere desires for your happiness, and a hope that your last days may be your best,

I am, sir, sincerely yours,

OMAR.

A REVIEW OF THE POWER ASSUMED BY RULERS OVER THE LAWS OF GOD, AND THE LIVES OF MEN.

THE remarks now to be made, will not be designed to diminish the respect which is due to the rulers of nations. Rulers are but men, and like other men, they are liable to be so misled by passion, prejudice, and custom, as to call evil good, and good evil. To convince, and not to offend, is the object in view.

That every one may have opportunity to judge of the power assumed by rulers, a plain case will be stated, which has often occurred :—

The dominions of two governments are separated only by a geographical line. Numerous settlements are made adjacent to the line on each side; and the people of the two states live together as neighbors, friends, and brothers. They often meet in the same house for worship, become members of the same church; intermarriages are frequent; the sons on one side purchase lands and settle on the other; and in a multitude of ways they become united, endeared, and attached to each other.

In time of peace, if a vicious person on one side steals on the other, and is detected, he is punished as a thief; if he maliciously kills, he is hanged as a murderer; and all acts of violence are regarded as criminal. Such is the state of things during peace.

The next news is, a dispute has arisen between the two governments. An ambassador has been insulted, or a question of property, or a boundary line has occurred. The dispute is managed in a haughty, menacing tone on one side, and thus retorted on the other. Next out comes a flaming manifesto, or declaration of war. The peaceful inhabitants, on the different sides of the line, are declared to be enemies to each other; they are required to take up arms, and meet each other in the field of battle; neighbor against neighbor, brother against brother, and father against son. All the means which malice can suggest, or ingenuity invent, are adopted, to inflame their passions, alienate their hearts, excite their enmity,

and make them forget that they are friends and brethren. They must fight, or be punished as traitors or cowards. They must kill or be killed, and perhaps both.

Now the laws of God are superseded by the declaration of war—theft is no longer stealing, nor killing murder. Nay, it is now declared to be just and honorable, to plunder and to kill; and he who proves to be the most hardened and successful villain, acquires the greatest share of renown. After the parties have spread for years mutual havoc and desolation through the villages, the sound of peace is heard by those who happen to be alive. The neighbors are required to cease from slaughter; and killing again becomes murder, by the mere mandate of a ruler.

Now we may boldly and solemnly ask, who gave these rulers power to suspend the laws of God, during the war, and thus to sacrifice the lives of men? Who gave them a right to change the relations of these citizens from friends and neighbors to political enemies? Who authorized the rulers to inflame their subjects with enmity, and to arm them for mutual havoc and murder?

Must not that ruler be the subject of strong delusions, or the most perfect insanity, who can suppose that a mandate from himself can dissolve the obligations which men are under to love one another, or absolve them from guilt in shedding innocent blood? Can rational beings be so infatuated by a popular custom, as to suppose, that the mere word of a fallible, and perhaps ungodly ruler, is of sufficient force to annihilate or suspend the laws and authority of God; so as to render that honorable virtue to day, which yesterday would have been wanton cruelty, and deliberate murder? And that too without any change in the character or condition of the subjects, but what the ruler himself has made!

When I reflect on the power thus assumed by rulers, I find it so perfectly correspondent with Paul's account of "the man of sin," that I have sometimes suspected that he, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, and is worshipped," is the spirit and custom of war personified, or the professed Christian ruler supporting this diabolical and an-

tichristian custom. What more power could a war-maker assume, if he imagined himself to be "exalted above all that is called God?" Does he not assume the prerogatives of the Almighty, and even fancy that he can at pleasure, suspend or annul the authority of Jehovah? Does he not imagine that he can authorize and render just and honorable, the vilest passions and most horrid deeds? Passions and deeds which the ruler himself would regard as deserving of death, are justified and applauded, because he has interposed a bloody mandate between the peaceful laws of heaven and his deluded subjects. If this be not exalting himself "above all that is called God," it will be difficult to find any thing on this side the infernal regions, to which this description will apply. And it may be doubted, whether there be any thing even there, more abominable, more repugnant to the spirit of the gospel, than those things which are authorized by the custom of war.

In answer to the question, 'Whence did rulers derive this enormous power?' some will answer, 'Under republican governments, they derive it from the people and the constitution!' Had the people then such power to delegate? Or did they exalt themselves above all that is called God, in pretending to confer such power? Prior to this delegation of power, had *they* a right wantonly to sacrifice their own lives, or the lives of others? Could *they* at pleasure suspend the law of God during an attempt to kill a brother, or one of God's children? Could *they* thus easily change vice into virtue, and the most daring crimes into feats of honor? Could *they* render justifiable the most murderous passions, as a substitute for that love which God has enjoined? If they had no such rights or powers to delegate, it is folly or madness in rulers to imagine that they possess any such thing! What manifest delusion is this, to suppose that subjects may confer on rulers power sufficient to suspend the laws of heaven!

Either rulers have such power, or they have not. If they possess this power, then killing the innocent during war, and in obedience to the order of the ruler, is not murder. But if they have *not* power to supersede the commands, "*thou shalt not kill*"—"*thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*," then these

acts of killing, and every murderous passion must be condemned at the bar of God.

All protestant rulers would deride the pretensions of the Roman pontiff, who claims power to absolve from guilt, and to grant indulgences to sin; or they would pity the man thus grossly deluded. But in what respects do the pretensions of the pontiff exceed those of the war making ruler? In what particular are they more ridiculous, more arrogant, or more heaven daring? Political jesuits alone can tell. If men are liable to be punished for their evil deeds, notwithstanding the license or the absolution of the pontiff, so they are, notwithstanding the arrogant pretensions of war-makers.

To support the sanguinary custom of war, rulers are obliged to adopt sanguinary laws, which expose the lives of their own citizens. Cowardice in an officer, exposes him to death. Here a capital crime is made out of a mere natural infirmity, and one, perhaps, which it was utterly impossible for the officer to surmount. Desertion also is punished with death, even on the part of the aggressor in war. Whether the soldier deserted in consequence of ill usage, abuse from his officers, conscientious scruples in regard to the justice of the cause, or for no reason at all, still he is liable to be shot.

To complete the inconsistency, while the aggressor in the war will punish with death desertion from his own army, he will bribe or entice the soldiers of the opposing army, to commit the same crime.

That such conduct may be consistent with the usages of war, we do not deny; but the propriety of it we may deny with confidence. If desertion from the aggressor deserves death, it cannot deserve less on the other side. If it do not deserve death, the ruler who inflicts the punishment is guilty of unjustly taking human life. If he views the crime as deserving of death, and still will entice others to commit it, what is he but a deluded or an unprincipled mortal?

Similar to this is the custom of employing and punishing spies. Each army will employ spies. And yet if a spy from one army is detected by the other, death is his portion. Now it is a question, which God will decide, whether that ruler who

will both employ a spy, and punish a spy with death, is not chargeable with blood guiltiness, and the most glaring inconsistency.

But the custom of war is itself such a flagrant outrage of the principles of reason, justice, religion, and humanity, that it is impossible to support it at all, but by setting aside the laws of God, and adopting rules and maxims of conduct subversive of his requirements; and by authorizing the very crimes which he has forbidden. Deceit, fraud, and falsehood—theft, robbery, and murder, and every species of impiety and injustice, which God forbids, are authorized by the maxims and usages of war. That love and kindness, which God requires, the custom of war prohibits; and that hatred, violence, and revenge, which God forbids, the custom of war requires.

Unless the laws of nations, the maxims of war, and the authority of rulers, are sufficient to subvert the authority of God, and change vice into virtue, the custom of war must involve the most awful retributions. For it is manifest that both rulers and subjects, do act on the presumption, that a declaration of war can authorize the most flagrant violations of the moral law, and the benevolent precepts of the gospel; and that a state of war changes the character of moral actions, so that vice becomes virtue, and virtue vice.

Which of the ten commandments, or of the precepts of the gospel, is not supposed to be, at least, partially suspended during war? Do not men have other gods before Jehovah, while they serve and obey men in defiance of God's commands? Do not war makers impiously take God's name in vain, and make him a party or an associate in their guilty and murderous enterprizes? Is not the fourth command uniformly and wantonly violated during war? Are not children authorized so far to dishonor father and mother, as even to take their lives, if they happen to be opposed to each other in the contest? As to the four following commands, the maxims and usages of war run thus:—Thou *shalt* kill. Thou *mayest* commit adultery and fornication. Thou *mayest* steal, rob, and plunder. Thou *mayest* bear false witness, slander, deceive, and lie. Thou *mayest* covet thy neighbor's house, his wife, his

man servant, his maid servant, his ox, his ass, and *every thing that is his.*

In the same licentious manner, the custom and maxims of war subvert or reverse the benevolent and peaceful precepts of Jesus, and authorize every passion and every vice, prohibited by the gospel. What then is more deserving of the character of the " man of sin," or of *antichrist*, than the spirit and custom of war? And have we no reason to fear, that the judicial threatening, " God shall send them strong delusions that they may believe a lie," has been awfully verified among professed Christians, who have had pleasure in this unrighteous custom? Can there be stronger delusions, than those by which men are made to believe, that they are acting in a manner which God will approve, while they support a custom which sets at defiance every precept of his law and his gospel!

We are amazed at the power of delusion in the religious fanatics of Munster, who, fancying themselves to be the favorites of heaven, claimed as their privilege the indulgence of every licentious passion, and the right of slaughtering their fellow men, that they might inherit the earth. But what excesses, what inconsistencies, what enormities can be charged to their account, which have not been equalled or surpassed by war makers in every age! The deluded king of these madmen assumed no more power over the lives of men and the laws of God, than has been commonly assumed by war making rulers.

We regard the Algerines as barbarians, pirates, robbers, and murderers; because their modes of warfare are in some respects different from those adopted by Christian nations. But these barbarians have their customs as well as other people; and they can plead that their inhuman practices are not only authorized by their *rulers*, but by their *religion*. Their rulers have as good a right to authorize their barbarous conduct, as christian rulers have to authorize the most bare faced violations of the laws of God and the precepts of the gospel. If a christian ruler can, by a war mandate, render violence and murder justifiable, why may not the Dey of Algiers convert the most cruel slavery into a justifiable means of obtaining money?

Their mode of warfare is indeed abominable inhumanity; but this is true of the modes authorized by christian rulers.

We reprobate the customs of the Indians, in torturing captives, and scalping the dead. But these are Indian customs, and according to their maxims of war; nor are they more savage, than the indiscriminate butchery of men, women, and children, which has often been authorized by *pretended* christian rulers, on taking a city by storm. In truth, we can find no custom among the most savage nations, or the most deluded fanatics, which may not be vindicated with as good a grace, as the custom of christian rulers in making war. If christian rulers will so far agree with the Indian chiefs, as to authorize the murder of the innocent, let them not reproach the Indians for the far less unjust and inhuman practice of taking the scalps of the dead. To take life from the innocent and the living, is a very serious injury; but to take the scalp from a dead man, does him no harm at all. It is only an Indian mode of glorying in victory; and perhaps as little offensive to God, as the modes often adopted by Christians. On the whole, christian rulers should either admit that the established customs of the Algerines and the Indians, are as justifiable as their own, and cease to reproach them for their inhumanity, or begin a reformation at home.

OMAR'S SOLITARY REFLECTIONS.

SECTION I.

I HAVE now done writing to the President. What effect my letters may have on his mind, I know not. I hope they will give no offence, for surely none has been intended. He sees the error of duellists, but I fear he will not be easily persuaded to renounce an error, which has been sanctioned by his own administration. He is, however, certainly a man of talents, and capable of examining the subject. I cannot but indulge some hope of success.

But alas! how can I hope to convince a *statesman* that war is a wicked custom, while so great a portion of the *clergy*

are its advocates ! It is surely to be lamented that ever a minister of the gospel was known to approve a custom, which involves every species of guilt which God forbids ; and which cannot possibly exist but by the indulgence of a temper, directly opposed to the temper of Jesus.

While different sects of christians have adopted different criterions of the christian character, and pursued a course of exclusive conduct towards each other ; how seldom has the benevolent and self-denying temper of the gospel been admitted as the best evidence of true religion ! And how unanimous have been most sects of christians in supporting a custom of violence and revenge, by which many thousands of lives are annually sacrificed to the ambition of rulers ! Shocking indeed is the thought, but so it seems to have been, that on *no one point* have christians been *more united* than in supporting the very *worst custom in the pagan world !*

But why do I wonder at others ? I too was educated under the light of the gospel, except so far as this light was eclipsed by antichristian opinions and customs. Yet how long did I remain in darkness, bewildered by popular delusions !

O my God, cleanse my soul from all the guilt I contracted by supporting sanguinary customs. Dispose me to be as ready to forgive as I am desirous to be forgiven— as cheerful to obey the precepts of thy Son, as I am to be saved by thy grace through him.

SECTION II.

Let me pause a moment. —My letters are gone out of my hands, and possibly they will be published to the world. How then shall I retain my standing in the church ? Shall I not be censured for departing from the faith and practice of our ancestors ?

I have however done what I thought to be my duty ; and with God I leave the event. While I was a *fighting christian*, my character was supposed to stand fair, although my heart and my hands were defiled with blood. Now I have renounced the fighting character and become a penitent for the blood I have shed, some will probably reproach me as an apostate

from the religion of Jesus. But I have no reason to fear worse treatment than he received; and surely I do not deserve better than he deserved, who "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

There is such a perfect contrast between the maxims of the gospel and the maxims of war, that I feel amazed and confounded, when I reflect that for ages the great body of the clergy have justified the most sanguinary custom that ever existed among men.—How would the compassionate Savior have appeared at the head of an army, pronouncing a violent philippic, to excite men to revenge and havoc? Or how would he have appeared as a chaplain, praying to his Father to grant success to an army about to engage in the work of vengeance and murder! How opposite this, to the spirit of his command: "Love your enemies;" and to his prayer on the cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Whoever may have been in the right, or in the wrong, in the theological controversies of the present age, how *harmless* have been most of the errors which have been combatted, compared with that enormous practical error, which has been common to all the contending parties? I can hardly think of any error, short of absolute atheism, which appears to me more repugnant to the gospel, or more dangerous to the souls of men, than this popular belief, that christians may, in obedience to the gospel, or as followers of Jesus, meet each other in the field of battle for mutual violence and slaughter—and that prior to entering on this dreadful work they may, on each side, cry to the *Father of mercies* to grant them success in their attempts to butcher one another. Yet this monstrous, murderous error, like the "*camel*" of the Pharisees, has been swallowed by almost every sect of christians; and that too, while each has been careful to "strain out" some "*gnat*," infinitely less dangerous to the lives, and to the souls of men.

We have indeed many melancholy proofs of the moral blindness and depravity of mankind; but the *popularity of war* among christians, who have the gospel in their hands, crowns the whole, and leaves no room for doubt. "Their feet are

swift to shed blood: Destruction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace have they not known."

What errors may not christians embrace and support from an improper regard to the traditions they have received from their forefathers! Had the custom of war never been adopted among christians of former ages—had our ancestors kept themselves pure from shedding innocent blood—and expressed a proper abhorrence of war, as it existed among pagans; what horror would the people of this country have now felt, at the bare proposal of settling a national controversy, by an appeal to arms! The thought of settling a parish dispute in the same manner, would not have appeared so shocking and dreadful.

But as the custom of war has been so long popular among christians, and among our ancestors, many perhaps will be more shocked to hear its justice and morality denied, than they would be to hear of the slaughter of a hundred thousand fellow beings, in a battle *bravely fought*.

SECTION III.

It is a common maxim, that "*misery* loves company," and perhaps it is not less so with *error* and *vice*. When persons become convinced that they have been in a popular error, they are too apt to be pleased with the thought, that they have not been alone in the business; that men of all ranks have been equally deluded. This consideration may have influence with many, to prevent a thorough inquiry, after the morality of a popular custom is called in question. On the same ground some may feel justified in neglecting to exert themselves to open the eyes of others, when they have become fully convinced that a custom is of a dangerous character. But it ought ever to be considered, that the more popular any vicious custom is, the more dreadful are its effects; and therefore the more thorough should be our inquiries and our exertions.—"Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not pass unpunished."

Suppose I had discovered to my satisfaction, that a pretended remedy for the most dangerous disease had obtained cir-

culation ; that this supposed catholicon had destroyed thousands in past ages ; and that by a popular recommendation, people of all ranks in this country had been seduced to purchase the fatal poison ; what would be my duty ? Might I feel easy and hold my peace, because the error was so common, that people of every class were exposed to be destroyed ? Common sense and humanity unite in saying, The more there are exposed, the more thorough and vigorous should be the efforts to save the lives of men.

It may indeed be less reproachful to be in a popular error, than in one which is unpopular ; but it is not less dangerous. The more popular a malignant custom is, the more likely people are to be deluded by it to their own destruction. If duelling were as popular as war, it would probably destroy as many lives.

Therefore, as I feel the most perfect conviction, that war is as murderous as duelling, or even as assassination—that millions of men have already been wantonly sacrificed by it—and that millions more are in danger of losing both their lives and their souls ; it must be my duty to do what I can, to convince others of their danger, " whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear." As in the case of discovering a popular poison, I should be chargeable with inhumanity, and with the blood of my fellow men, if I should refuse to give information and warning ; so it must be in the present case. If I must lose my character and my life by any voluntary effort, let it be in an attempt to save my fellow men, and not in an attempt to destroy them. " We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren." But—" whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer ; and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him."

If by any means there might be produced in our country as much zeal and exertion to preserve the blessing of peace, as we have seen in favor of war, how happy would be our prospects ! If a tenth part of as much property, as has been expended and destroyed in the late war, should be judiciously appropriated in Great Britain and the United States, in cultivating the spirit of peace, and exciting an abhorrence of war,

the present tranquillity between the two nations would probably be as durable as their existence. "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" but how horrid to see them inflamed with hatred, and murdering one another, under the delusive idea that such is the road to glory, and to heaven!

I cannot but feel tenderly for my former military companions. I know very well their love of glory; and should war become disreputable, they will be ready to exclaim, "Ye have taken away my gods, and what have I more!" They will, however, probably derive some support from this melancholy fact, that if the past popularity of war has been a delusion, it is one in which statesmen and clergymen were as deeply concerned as themselves; and that had it not been for the influence of others, they never would have adopted this sanguinary road to fame.—As the error has been common to people of all ranks, there is ample ground for mutual candor, mutual sympathy, and mutual efforts for a general reformation.

O that the time may be hastened, when christianity shall be exemplified in the lives of its professors. Then will be realized that blessedness, the prospect of which animated "a multitude of the heavenly host," while they sung "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace; and good will towards men."

THE NOBLEST TREATY OF PEACE.*

The celebrated Montesquieu gives it as his opinion that "the noblest treaty of peace, ever mentioned in history, is that which Gelon," king of Syracuse "made with the Carthaginians. He insisted upon their abolishing the custom of *Sacrificing their children.* Glorious, says he, indeed! after having defeated 300,000 Carthaginians, he required a condition that was advantageous to themselves, or rather he stipulated in favor of human nature." *Spirit of Laws*, vol. i. p. 151.

Mr. Rollin quotes the article of the treaty—"that no

* Not in the first edition.

more human sacrifices should be offered to Saturn." *Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 222.

This was indeed a noble treaty, which put an end to *one* inhuman custom among the Carthaginians. But how much more noble would it have been had Gelon "stipulated" for the abolition of his *own* custom of offering human sacrifices by war, and persuaded the Carthaginians to do the same. While he beheld with horror the "human sacrifices offered to Saturn," he was probably unmoved to see thousands after thousands sacrificed to his own ambition.

So Christians can see, as well as Gelon did, the inhumanity of those sacrifices which he abolished; yet they can without remorse sacrifice themselves or their children in compliance with another custom, which is as inhuman, as unnecessary and as savage, as that of the Carthaginians. It must indeed be admitted that Christians have viewed their own *human sacrifices* as acceptable to God; but so it was with the Carthaginians, and with reasons equally good.

Mr. Rollin quotes from Plutarch, a heathen moralist, some questions respecting the Carthaginian sacrifices, which deserve the consideration of fighting Christians:—

"Can this, says Plutarch, be called worshipping the gods? Can we be said to entertain an honorable opinion of the gods, if we suppose that they are pleased with slaughter, thirsty of human blood, and capable of requiring or accepting such offerings? Had it not been better for the Carthaginians to have had a Critias, a Diagoras, and such like *open atheists* for their lawgivers, than to have established so frantic and wicked a religion? Could the Typhons and the Giants, the open enemies of the gods, had they gained a victory over them, have established more abominable sacrifices?"

Will not Plutarch rise up in judgment against the sanguinary Christians of this age?

END.

THE

FRIEND OF PEACE.

No. II.

REVIEW OF THE ARGUMENTS OF LORD KAMES IN FAVOUR OF WAR.

INTRODUCTION.

When a celebrated writer attempts to vindicate an opinion or custom, which has long been popular, almost any thing will pass for solid argument. Both his premises and conclusions will commonly be admitted, without careful examination. But fortunately for the interests of humanity, the reasonings of philosophers in favour of sanguinary customs, are not invincible. Their fallacy may be detected by persons of moderate talents, if they can summon fortitude enough to examine them impartially.

Lord Kames was in many respects an agreeable writer. His "Sketches of the history of man" are in general useful and entertaining. But when such a writer errs, he commonly carries a multitude with him; and especially when he writes in favour of a popular custom. In the second Book of the work which has been named, "Sketch VI." is entitled "War and Peace compared." In this "Sketch" the author seriously attempts to prove, that the alternate succession of war and peace is as necessary and useful, as the changes of weather, and that perpetual peace is worse than perpetual war.

While such opinions prevail, war will of course be popular and unavoidable. No powerful exertions will be made to abolish a custom, while it is generally believed to be both necessary and useful. It hence becomes important that his lordship's arguments should be thoroughly examined, and their fallacy made evident. His reasoning on this subject is such as we might naturally expect from him in defending a false but pop-

ular doctrine. Of course, it is both plausible and incorrect. The principal arguments in this sketch will be presented and reviewed; and to these we shall subjoin another from the sketch on "the origin of nations." His lordship did not arrange and number his arguments in favor of war in a methodical manner; but they will now be numbered for the convenience of the reader, as well as the reviewer.

ARGUMENT I.

"The blessings of peace are too well known to need illustration: industry, commerce, the fine arts, power, opulence, &c. &c. depend on peace. What has war in store for balancing blessings so substantial? Let us not abandon the field without making at least one effort.

"Humanity, it must be acknowledged, gains nothing from wars of small states in close neighborhood: Such wars are brutal and bloody, because they are carried on with bitter enmity against individuals. Thanks to Providence, that war at present bears a less savage aspect: We spare individuals and make war upon the nation only: barbarity and cruelty give place to magnanimity, and soldiers are coverted from brutes into heroes. Such wars give exercise to the elevated virtues of courage, generosity and disinterestedness, which are always attended with consciousness of merit and of dignity. Friendship is in peace cool and languid; but in a war for glory exerts the whole fire of its enthusiasm." p. 290.

ANSWER.

In the first of these paragraphs we have his lordship's summary of "the blessings of peace;" and in the second a summary of the "balancing blessings" of war. It will behove us to make an analytical and careful examination of these blessings of war which are supposed to balance the blessings of peace.

We will first notice the concession—"Humanity gains nothing from the wars of small states in close neighborhood." But why does humanity gain nothing by such petty wars? "Such wars are brutal and bloody, because carried on with bitter enmity against individuals." But we may ask,—what wars are not "brutal and bloody?" And are wars between great nations less "brutal and bloody," than wars between

small states? "Thanks to Providence," replies his lordship, "that war at present bears a less savage aspect: we spare individuals and make war upon the nation only." But is not every nation composed of "individuals?" Are all these individuals spared in the present mode of warfare? In making "war on a nation only," do we make war against an abstract idea? a war by which individuals are not injured? If not, is it "less savage" to make war on a whole nation, few of whom have ever done us any injury, than to make war on a smaller number of individuals, who have really injured us? If this be "less savage," it must be because civilization has rendered men more unjust and inhuman than they were in a savage state.

But his lordship says—"Barbarity and cruelty give place to magnanimity;" and "soldiers are converted from brutes into heroes." Such he supposes are the consequences of making "war upon a nation only." He evidently argues on the supposition, that men fight with "less bitter enmity" when they fight against a nation of strangers, few or none of whom have given any cause of offence, than when they fight persons "in close neighbourhood," who have offended them. This is probably true in general. But is there no "barbarity" in making an indiscriminate war on a nation of strangers, not one of whom to a million has ever done us any harm? Is *this* the way for "barbarity and cruelty to give place to magnanimity!" On this principle a robber or pirate may show his magnanimity in making war on innocent strangers, if he only forbears to do the same on persons "in close neighbourhood" who have given him offence. Thus robbers as well as "soldiers" may be "converted from brutes into heroes." A savage mode of conversion indeed!

But "such wars," we are told, "give exercise to the elevated virtues of courage, generosity, and disinterestedness, which are always attended with a consciousness of merit and dignity." Here we have a fine cluster of the blessings of war. We will however examine them, to see whether they are blessings in reality, or only in pretence.

Is that "courage" a *virtue* by which entire strangers without any provocation can bravely meet each other in a field of battle for mutual butchery and murder? If this be true vir-

tue, then the most inhuman and hardened villians, are the most virtuous men; and we may throw open the gates of heaven to bloody cut-throats, while we exclude every humble follower of Jesus.

Shall we also give the names of "generosity and disinterestedness" to ambition and murderous valor, or to any qualities of mind by which men are disposed to destroy unoffending fellow beings?

It is true indeed, that soldiers have little *interest* in the quarrels of their rulers; at least they have little reason to expect any benefit from fighting, except the praise of deluded men, who call evil good and good evil. There seems to be therefore something resembling "generosity and disinterestedness" in their exposing their lives without a prospect of real advantage. But in duly estimating the dispositions and actions of men, we should have respect to the end in view, and the means adopted. In wars in general, on the part of the war-maker, both the end and the means are as truly abominable, as they are in the case of a gentleman's bribing or compelling a servant to murder a rival for the sake of property or fame. The servant may indeed display undaunted valor, skill and dexterity; but to attribute to him "the elevated *virtues* of courage, generosity and disinterestedness" would oe a most unjustifiable perversion of language.

But to illustrate more fully his meaning in the sentence now under review, the writer has a long note containing two examples of the blessings of war. One of the narratives we shall give entire:—

"In the war carried on by Louis XII. of France against the Venetians, the town of Brescia, being taken by storm and abandoned to the soldiers, suffered for seven days all the distresses of cruelty and avarice. No house escaped but that where Chevalier Bayard was lodged. At his entrance the mistress, a woman of rank, fell at his feet, and deeply sobbing, "O! my lord, save my life, save the honor of my daughters."—"Take courage, Madam," said the Chevalier, "Your life and their honor shall be secure while I have life." The two daughters, brought from their hiding-place, were presented to him; and the family reunited, bestowed their whole attention on their

deliverer. A dangerous wound he had received, gave them opportunity to express their zeal. They employed a notable surgeon; they attended him by turn day and night; and when he could bear to be amused, they entertained him with concerts of music. Upon the day fixed for his departure, the mother said to him, "to your goodness, my lord, we owe our lives; and to you, all we have belongs by right of war; but we hope from your signal benevolence, that this slight tribute will content you;"—placing upon the table an iron coffer full of money. "What is the sum?" said the Chevalier. "My lord," answered she, trembling, "no more but 2500 ducats, all that we have;—but if more be necessary we will try our friends."—"Madam," said he, "your kindness is more precious in my eyes than a hundred thousand ducats. Take back your money, and depend always on me."—"My good lord, you kill me in refusing this small sum; take it only as a mark of your friendship to my family"—"Well," said he, "since it will oblige you, I take the money; but give me the satisfaction of bidding adieu to your amiable daughters." They came to him with looks of regard and affection. "Ladies," said he, "the impression you have made on my heart will never wear out. What return to make I know not; for men of my profession are seldom opulent. But here are 2500 ducats of which the generosity of your mother has given me the disposal. Accept them as a marriage present; and may your happiness in marriage equal your merit"—"Flower of chivalry!" cried the mother, "may the God who suffered death for us reward you here and hereafter."

Having given this narrative, his lordship gravely asks, "Can peace afford so sweet a scene?"—just as though the pleasing sentiments expressed by these four persons, were sufficient to counterbalance, or even annihilate, all the sin and misery occasioned where a "town, being taken by storm and abandoned to the soldiers, suffered for seven days all the distresses of cruelty and avarice," and "no house escaped but that where Chevalier Bayard was lodged!!"

It ever affords us pleasure to hear of any thing like *humanity* or *generosity* in military men, and we would by all suitable means encourage the display of such sentiments and feelings.

But we are not disposed to overlook the horrors and cruelties of war, while we pay a respect to generous sentiments. Let us now consider Bayard as the Commander in Chief of the besieging army. Is he to be extolled to the skies for sparing *one* house with *three* females, while he abandoned every other house in the town for seven days to the unbridled cruelty, lust and avarice of a ferocious army? Will the kindness he showed to *three* unoffending persons, cancel his guilt in the slaughter, the pillage, and the debauchery of many thousands, by the men under his command!

Let us bring such a scene more home to our feelings. Suppose Boston to be a walled town, which must be taken by storm within three months from this time unless the custom of war shall be abolished; and if taken, every family in the town except one is to be exposed to the uncontrolled vengeance, avarice and brutality of the invading army. Is there a person in the town or vicinity, that has a spark of humanity in his breast, who would not fervently pray for the entire abolition of war? And should a philosopher gravely attempt to comfort the inhabitants of Boston under such circumstances, and to reconcile them to the continuance of war, and the consequent fate, by pleading that war gives opportunity for the "exercise of the elevated virtues of courage, generosity and disinterestedness;" would they not unitedly censure him as a monster, alike destitute of a christian temper, and of the feelings of humanity? Let the philosopher renew his effort, and paint to them in glowing colors such a scene as took place between Bayard and the three females; and assure the Bostonians that peace can give no opportunity for "so sweet a scene;" would he not be regarded as a man *insane*, or as one who delighted to insult people in distress?—Yet such a scene in *one* house, while all around was massacre, pillage and debauchery, is one of the examples of the blessings of war, produced by this celebrated writer.

If the custom of war shall be long continued, many cities and towns must probably experience the horrors of Brescia; and why not Boston, or New York, or Philadelphia, as well as any other place? Shall we have feelings for ourselves, and none for other people? Shall we be so selfish that we would vote or pray for the abolition of war, if we ourselves must certainly fall

victims to its vengeance ; and still plead for it as necessary and useful, while it is impossible that the custom can be continued without exposing to misery and death, millions of our fellow creatures, who are as worthy to live as we are, and as capable of feeling pain and wo ?

It is not to be doubted that in storming the town of Brescia, the soldiers were incited to deeds of valor, by the promise or the prospect of the seven days license for pillage, massacre and debauchery. Yet this is one of the examples of modern warfare, in which "barbarity and cruelty give place to magnanimity, and soldiers are converted from brutes into heroes,"—in which "we spare individuals and make war on the nation only !" *Three* individuals we see were "spared" in Brescia ; but what became of the many thousands ! Can any thing be more astonishing than the blindness of his lordship !

It is true that in the same note he gave another example of the blessings of war. The story is concisely this : At the siege of Chandernagore, Capt. Speke and his son were both wounded by the same shot ; the father's leg was "hanging by the skin," when he was brought aboard Admiral Watson's ship. "Indeed, sir," said the father to the Admiral, "this was a cruel shot to knock down both father and son." The son had his leg amputated, and soon after died. There were strong expressions of tenderness and sympathy between the father and the son. The son in particular discovered more concern for his father than for himself. When he was about to have his leg cut off, he prayed—"Good God ! do thou enable me to behave in my present circumstances worthy of my father."—The two were separated, and each inquired repeatedly of the surgeon how it was with the other ; and this in terms of affectionate concern. When the son was about to die, he sent to the doctor to know whether his father was likely to recover—the doctor visited him. "And is he dead ?" said the son. "Who, my dear ?"—"My father, sir."—No, my love ; nor is he in any danger ; he is almost well."—"I thank God : I am now satisfied, and am ready to die."

Such are the principal circumstances in the narrative. At the close his lordship says, "I only add, Does peace afford any scene that can compare with this in moving our sympathetic

feelings?" In answer to the question I may say, that ten thousand scenes have taken place in time of peace more moving than this. But if there were none equally moving, would it be important to continue the custom of war for the sake of producing more moving scenes than occur amidst all the calamities which take place in time of peace? Would his lordship have been willing that he and his son should in like manner be cut down by a cannon shot, for the sake of exhibiting to the world a scene capable of "moving our sympathetic feelings?" From his manner of writing on this subject it would be natural to suppose, that he lived in some quarter of the universe where people were free from all calamities in time of peace—where they have no opportunity for the exercise of generous, grateful, or sympathetic feelings, except in time of war!

There is one sentence of this remarkable paragraph yet to be considered.—"Friendship is in peace cool and languid; but in a war for glory, exerts the whole fire of its enthusiasm."

It is undoubtedly true, that the fervor of friendship is often displayed in time of war. It is equally true that enmity at such times "exerts the whole fire of its enthusiasm." In numberless instances war dissolves friendships, which had been previously formed, and occasions and fixes enmities, which are as durable as life.

It is indeed a strange way of promoting friendship among men, to set them to cutting each other's throats. But, says his lordship, "We spare individuals, and make war upon the nation only." So then to preserve friendship from becoming "cool and languid," we must make war upon a whole nation; and thus by exciting *hatred* against the *whole*, increase our friendship for the *several parts!*

But it is "in a war for glory," that friendship "exerts the whole fire of its enthusiasm:" yes, such a war as that in which Brescia was taken by storm—the city abandoned to seven days riot—three females preserved—and the rest of the inhabitants devoted to vengeance or debauchery!

If such are the effects "in a war for glory," what is the great difference between a war for glory and a war for vengeance? A war for glory is the kind of war which his lordship was disposed to encourage for the benefit of mankind. Had

he been educated among savages, it might have been accounted for, that he supposed a war for glory justifiable and useful; but considering the age and the country in which he lived, the talents with which he was endowed, and the correct opinions he possessed on many other subjects, his views on this point are truly surprising. Let us listen to his language when war is out of the question :—

"No argument," he says, "is requisite to prove that to rescue an innocent babe from the jaws of a wolf, to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, are right actions; they are perceived to be so intuitively. As little is an argument requisite to prove that murder, deceit, perjury, are wrong actions; they are perceived to be so intuitively." vol. iv. p. 10.

"Of our duties to others, one there is so extensive as to have for its object all the innocent part of mankind. It is the duty that *prohibits us to hurt others*; than which no law is more clearly dictated by the moral sense; nor is the transgression of any other law more deeply stamped with the character of wrong." p. 30.

"But let not the moral system be misapprehended, as if it were our duty or even lawful to prosecute what upon the whole we reckon the most beneficial to society, balancing ill with good. The moral sense permits not a violation of any person's right, however trivial, whatever benefit may thereby accrue to another—Hence a maxim in which all moralists agree, That we must not do ill to bring about good." p. 46.

"No interest of mine, not even life itself, will authorise me to hurt an innocent person." p. 65.

Such were some of the observations and maxims of Lord Kames relating to morals. Yet, this same moralist could appear as an advocate for the custom of war, yea, "a war for glory," which in truth is the most wanton of any kind of war whatever. "No argument" he thought, was necessary "to prove murder and deceit to be wrong;" yet he would plead for a *custom*, which is carried on by a course of "murder and deceit;" yea, a custom which murders men by thousands for the sake of military glory. We must not violate "any person's right"—nor in any case "do ill to bring about good." But nations may fight and destroy one another for the sake of glory

ARGUMENT II.

"Industry, manufactures and wealth are the fruits of peace; but advert to what follows. Luxury, a never failing concomitant of wealth, is a slow poison that debilitates men, and renders them incapable of any great effort. Courage, magnanimity, heroism, come to be ranked among the miracles that are supposed never to have existed but in fable; and the fashionable properties of sensuality, avarice, cunning and dissimulation, engross the mind. In a word, man by constant prosperity and peace degenerates into a mean, impotent and selfish animal. An American savage, who treasures up the scalps of his enemies as trophies of his prowess, is a being far superior. Such are the fruits of perpetual peace with respect to individuals.

"Nor is the state itself less debilitated by it than its members. Figure a man wallowing in riches and immersed in sensual pleasure, but dreading the infection of a plague raging at his gate; or figure him in continual dread of an enemy, watching every opportunity to burn and destroy. This man represents a commercial state, that has long enjoyed peace without disturbance." p. 296.

ANSWER.

The principal argument in this passage, his lordship attempted to support by introducing a number of examples of nations who were once warlike, active and powerful, but afterwards became debilitated by luxury, and fell a prey to other warlike nations. But in this statement, it is believed, he took a very partial view of facts, and drew his conclusions accordingly. Upon this reasoning we may observe,

First. That debilitating luxury is too frequently the concomitant of wealth, cannot be denied. But in respect to the individuals who possess great wealth, it is not true, that they are uniformly debilitated by luxury. Many wealthy persons are all their days active and useful members of society.

Secondly. It is probably a fact that in every country, the number of persons who possess great wealth is very small compared with the whole. Consequently, in the most wealthy

communities, by far the greater part of the people have occasion to be active, to obtain a comfortable subsistence, while very few are freed from this necessity by the property they have already acquired. Shall we then plead for war, to keep a few persons from sinking into sloth and indolence, while it must distress and injure the mass of population!

Thirdly. Even in wealthy communities it is probable, that of the idle and useless persons, the greater number will be found in that class which has but a small portion of property or none at all. It certainly is very far from being true, that idleness, inactivity, uselessness and dissipation are *peculiar* to the *rich.* Let any person reflect on the number of useless and dissipated characters within the circle of his own acquaintance, and ask himself, whether the greater portion of these are not persons who possess little wealth if any at all.

Fourth. There are more ways than one of *procuring* wealth. Those persons who acquire great wealth by honest industry and frugality, are far less likely to be ruined by luxury, or to become useless members of society, than those who obtain wealth by dishonest means, or by plundering others in time of war. Nations which have been successful in their attempts to conquer others, have often enriched themselves by spoil and plunder, by contributions and enormous tributes, which they have imposed on the conquered nations. This ill-gotten wealth proves a curse to their own country—the vengeance of God overtakes the nation, and they in their turn experience calamities similar to those they had inflicted. Every nation addicted to war, and which enriches itself by plunder and oppression, treasures up to itself wrath against a day of wrath, which in due time overtakes and overwhelms them.

Let any one acquainted with history say, whether it was not in the manner now described, that the four great empires, the Chaldean, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian and the Roman successively rose to wealth, fame and power; and successively fell into luxury, misery and ruin. If such was the mode of their rise, and their fall, it was not *peace*, but *war*, that laid the foundation of their overthrow.

Fifth. It is far from being true, that the fall of nations once warlike has always been preceded by too long a peace. By a

careful examination of history it will probably be found, that as many states have been overthrown and subdued without any considerable time of peace immediately preceding the war which effected their ruin, as there have been which enjoyed a long interval of peace prior to their overthrow. While reasoning on this subject, his lordship seems to have been in the habit of drawing general conclusions from particular facts, without duly considering whether opposite conclusions might not have been drawn from other facts which were equally notorious.

Sixth. From the fact that peace enriches and thus ruins some individuals, we are not to infer that it enervates and makes drones of a community at large. It ought to be considered that generally, even in time of war, a large portion of the citizens of a state, are far from the operations of war, and still, as in a time of peace, pursue a course of honest, active and useful industry ;—that while war on the part of a successful nation, calls into active service many who had been useless drones, or mischievous members of society, it also corrupts and ruins many others, who had before been both active and useful ; and at the close of a war multitudes of these ruined persons return with all their vices to corrupt the general mass of society. In this way also the fall of warring nations is hastened.

Seventh. When extensive empires are formed by conquering many smaller kingdoms and states—as was the case with the four that have been named—these smaller states are held in subjection for a time by the iron arm of oppression. They groan under their burdens, and stand ready to avail themselves of the first opportunity for successful revolt, and to join any rising power which shall attempt the ruin of the overgrown empire. The more there are of these conquered and oppressed states belonging to an empire, the greater is its danger of ruin. Often, to prepare the way for punishing a conquering power, God in his providence removes the efficient instruments by which the conquests are made—suffers the government to fall into weak and profligate hands, that have neither the wisdom nor the energy necessary to preserve peace nor to make war. This defect in the government becomes known to the

oppressed provinces, and they seize the opportunity to free themselves from an intolerable yoke.

In those cases in which it has been supposed that nations were ruined by luxury, the probability is, that the wealth and the luxury were confined to a small part of the empire. When a monarch and his court indulge in luxury and dissipation—as did Belshazzar and his court—the empire is exposed to ruin. Nebuchadnezzar by conquest and plunder formed a great empire, and filled Babylon with wealth procured by murder, robbery and oppression. God first punished the monarch for his arrogance, then removed him from the world. The power and the wealth soon fell into the hands of the dissipated Belshazzar, and then the ruin of the empire was sealed. In a similar manner other empires have been cursed with weak and profligate rulers, preparatory to their destruction.

The dissipation and prodigality of rulers may indeed have a pernicious influence on the community at large. But it is believed that the luxury and profusion of rulers have seldom freed a community from want, or the common people from the necessity of personal exertions to support themselves and their families. While a king and his court have been wallowing in luxury, the great mass of subjects have been suffering under the hand of oppression. Instead of being wealthy, they have been poor, and yet of their little they have been compelled to contribute to the support of armies, which have deprived them of liberty; and to the support of rulers who regard them as servants or slaves. When a nation is ruined by wealth, it is not the wealth of the community at large, that occasions the ruin, but the wealth of those in power. While Babylon and Rome were ruined by luxury, perhaps not one person in a hundred in either of the empires could be said to be wealthy.

War is therefore not needed as a remedy against luxury among the common people; and it is far from being a remedy in respect to rulers, except when they are subdued, and their wealth falls into other hands.

There are still sentiments contained in the paragraph before us, which deserve a more distinct consideration. "In a word," says his lordship, "man by continued prosperity and peace degenerates into a mean, impotent and selfish animal. An A-

merican savage, who treasures up the scalps of his enemies as trophies of his prowess, is a being far superior."

It is to be lamented that any person who assumes the office of an instructer to mankind, should indulge himself in uttering sentiments of such a murderous character. But it is believed that a little reflection will be sufficient to convince any reasonable man, that these assertions are as unfounded in fact, as they are bloody in their tendency.

How many of the most amiable persons have spent all their days without any other concern with war, than to lament its ravages, and to pay the taxes imposed on them to support the murderous custom? How long, we may ask, must a man enjoy prosperity and peace before he will degenerate "into a mean, impotent, and selfish animal?" If he may pass all the prime of life from eighteen to fifty, in a state of peace without thus degenerating, why may he not also arrive to seventy and still support the dignity of a worthy man? And have there not been thousands, nay millions, of the human family, who have actually spent all their days with little or no concern with war, and yet supported characters through life the reverse of what his lordship supposed must be the effect of such circumstances? If this be fact, then the degeneracy he mentions must be accounted for on other grounds than a state of peace and tranquillity. Suppose peace to become universal and perpetual, would there not still be innumerable perils, trials and afflictions in the world, sufficient to exercise the patience of mankind and excite them to honourable exertions? Are the ordinary afflictions of the present state so few and so trivial, that men have occasion to become butchers one of another to preserve themselves from sloth, or from becoming "mean and impotent?"

Pennsylvania was settled at first principally by the Friends, and they have been a numerous sect in that state. They have ever abhorred war, and have never taken an active part in this bloody business. Now, have they as a sect degenerated "into mean, impotent, and selfish animals?" Are the "savages of America, who treasure up the scalps of their enemies as trophies of their prowess, beings far superior" to these peaceful Friends? Must not any person who can answer this question

in the affirmative, be himself an object of pity, or abhorrence? Must he not be ignorant of facts and characters, or be destitute of religion and humanity? I would not however intimate that such was the character of his lordship. He appears to have written on this subject in a very loose and careless manner; and to have asserted things without due reflection respecting either their correctness or their tendency. What he asserts, whether intended or not, is a manifest impeachment of both the character and the precepts of our Saviour. Although the Messiah spent his days on earth without ever engaging in war, or exciting others to murderous combat, he was not inferior to Lord Kames in activity and usefulness. He bore very little resemblance to "a mean, impotent and selfish animal," and as little to "the American savage, who treasures up the scalps of his enemies as trophies of his prowess." Whether the bloody savage "is a being far superior" to Him, who "came not to destroy men's lives but to save them," and "who went about doing good," and *not* doing mischief, let Christians who are friends of war determine.

If there be any truth in what his lordship asserts, or any propriety in his comparison, it follows of course, that it is really better for men to be active in destroying one another than to do nothing, or even to be what they must be if they should renounce the custom of war. If this be not a *savage* and *bloody* principle, we may despair of finding one that deserves such a name.

Should any reader still suspect that this author was correct as to the necessity of war to prevent men from becoming "mean, impotent and selfish;" let him consider how great a portion of the people in this country over thirty years of age, were never concerned in war in any other manner than by talking about it, and paying their taxes. Suppose this class to be separated from those of the same age, who have been in actual service. Then ask whether those who have not been engaged in war, are more inactive, "mean, impotent and selfish," than the other class. As the writer belongs to the class that has been active in war, he can have no interest to induce him to give the preference to the other, or to wish that it may be done. But however the decision may affect himself, he firmly believes

that an honest decision would go to the subversion of his lordship's theory.

ARGUMENT III.

"There is another advantage of war that ought not to be overlooked, though not capital.—It serves to drain a country of idlers, few of whom are innocent, and many not a little mischievous. In the years 1759 and 1760, when we were at war with France, there were but 29 criminals condemned at the Old Bailey. In the years 1770 and 1771, when we were at peace with all the world, the criminals condemned there amounted to 151." p. 305.

ANSWER.

Although this is not a "capital advantage of war," yet as it ought not to be passed over in silence, I shall bestow on it a few brief remarks.

1. That war "serves to drain a country of some of its idlers" and mischievous men, is granted. It also serves to drain a country of *many* industrious and useful men, or to convert them into idlers. Shall we then say, that it is better to destroy many useful men, than to suffer idlers to enjoy a longer space for repentance? Where is the useful citizen who would be willing to sacrifice his own life for the sake of freeing community from the incumbrance of another man who is an idler?

2. Is it the very best method of disposing of idlers, to employ them in cutting the throats of innocent people of another state? Would it not be quite as humane, and less unjust, to despatch such idlers without ceremony or delay, as to employ them in killing other people. I would by no means recommend this summary mode of freeing a state from idlers. I believe it would be abominably wicked; but not more than half so wicked as the mode approved by his lordship. What would he have thought of a foreign prince, who, to free his state from idlers, should have employed them in an attempt to destroy him and his family? If Lord Kames could justify his own government in thus employing idlers, and could represent this as one of the blessings of war; what reason would he have had

to complain, if all his friends and connexions had been destroyed by the idlers of another nation ?

There is another way in which a ruler might get rid of idlers ; he might instigate them to cut the throats of his own wife and children ; and then cause them to be hanged as murderers. If his feelings revolt at such inhumanity, let him shudder at the thought of adopting the argument of Lord Kames.

3. It is not to be doubted, that after the war with France was over, a greater number of criminals were condemned at the Old Bailey in two years, than had been in the same length of time during the war. When the army was disbanded many persons who had been corrupted and ruined by the war would very naturally find their way to the gallows, and that too for committing in time of peace, just such crimes as they had been *authorized* to commit—and were in the *habit* of committing—while in the army. Bad habits are not easily laid aside. But whether the government, which had trained them up to robbery and murder, did not as really deserve punishment as these idlers, is a question which rulers ought to consider.

4. From 1760 to 1770 was probably but 10 years. Did his lordship suppose that it would be for the advantage of a nation to be engaged in a war oftener than once in ten years ? or that a ten years' peace was too long for the benefit of a nation ?

5. It may also be proper to ask, of what class generally are those idlers which are drained from a state by being called into the army ? Are they the opulent who have become drones by luxury ? If not, then opulence is not the only thing which occasions drones and useless members of society ?

It may indeed be questioned, whether, even in Great Britain, after all their draining by war, there are not a greater number of dissipated idlers among the poor than among the rich. Doubtless there are too many of each class. But one thing is certain—that a long interval of peace within a century past, is *not* the cause either of the wealth, the luxury, or the number of idlers in Great Britain.

If a hundredth part of the property that has been expended and destroyed by wars in Christendom within a century, had

been wisely appropriated to the purpose of procuring employment for idlers, and forming them to habits of industry ; would not this have had a hundred fold better effect on the character of christian nations, than the barbarous mode of employing them in military service ?

ARGUMENT IV.

" But though I declare against perpetual peace, yet perpetual war is still more my aversion. The condition of Europe was deplorable in the dark ages when vassals assumed the privilege of waging war without the consent of the sovereign. Deadly feuds prevailed universally, and threatened dissolution of all governments. The human race were never in a more woful condition. But anarchy never fails, soon or late, to rectify itself, which effeminacy produced by long peace never does. Revenge and cruelty, it is true, are the fruits of war ; but so is firmness of mind and undaunted courage ; which are exerted with better will in behalf of virtue than of revenge." p. 206.

ANSWER.

If that firmness of mind and undaunted courage, which are displayed by regular troops in destroying their fellow men, are *virtues* which ought to be cultivated, why did his lordship object to the mode of warfare " in the dark ages ?" Perhaps in no age were such qualities of mind more fully displayed, than in the ferocious wars under the feudal system. Nor is the modern mode of warfare more adapted to produce what his lordship so much admired.

He admits that " revenge and cruelty are the fruits of war ;" yet he would persuade us to believe that these intolerable evils are more than counterbalanced by its other fruits, " firmness of mind and undaunted courage ;" and these latter fruits, he says, " are exerted with better will in behalf of virtue than of revenge."

We grant that " firmness of mind and undaunted courage" may be displayed in behalf of virtue. They were so by Him who was " meek and lowly of heart," and by his apostles after his resurrection. But it does not appear that they acquired this " firmnes of mind and undaunted courage" by being train-

ed up to the business of "cruelty and revenge." And we may appeal to all men of reflection and ask, Is that "firmness of mind and undaunted courage" which are acquired by the habits of "cruelty and revenge," very likely to be much employed "in behalf of virtue?"

If his lordship were correct in his views of the importance of frequent wars to produce "firmness of mind and undaunted courage," and if it be laudable to encourage wars for such a purpose, the system may doubtless be improved. Suppose a mode of education should be universally adopted by which children should be taught from their infancy, to fight and butcher one another. In this way they would acquire a high degree of that "firmness of mind and undaunted courage," which his lordship applauds. It is true that a vast many would be slain, while others were acquiring these supposed virtues, but so it is in the common war school. The lives of others, however, are of little account in the view of war advocates. The brave exploits of *one* man in murdering his fellow creatures, will cancel the loss of a thousand lives, in the estimate of men who delight in war and blood.

Before we dismiss this argument we will solemnly propose two questions:—Have not the society of Friends displayed as much "firmness of mind and undaunted courage" in exposing themselves to reproaches, to fines, to imprisonment and to death, in support of their pacific principles, as have ever been displayed by regular troops in murdering one another? Did these Friends acquire their "firmness of mind and undaunted courage" by being trained up in habits of "revenge and cruelty?" The answer, which conscience must give to these questions, will go to prove, that his lordship's reasoning is perfectly delusive. It may also help to distinguish between that wisdom which is from beneath and that which is from above.

ARGUMENT V.

"That man should be the only animal that makes war upon his own kind may appear strange and unaccountable. Did men listen to cool reason, they never would make war.—But war is necessary for man, being a school for every manly vir-

tue; and Providence renders kings blind to their true interest, that wars may sometimes take place. To rely upon Providence in the government of this world is the wisdom of man.

"Upon the whole, perpetual war is bad, because it converts men into beasts of prey; perpetual peace is worse, because it converts men into beasts of burden. To prevent such woful degeneracy on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means; and these means are adopted by Providence." p. 308.

ANSWER.

We have now before us the concluding paragraphs of the "Sketch" of "War and Peace compared;" and we shall endeavor to convert them to a purpose directly the reverse of that for which they were originally written.

It would indeed "seem strange and unaccountable" that the only rational beings in our world should degrade themselves below the brutes by "making war on their own kind," were it not that they have long been in the habit of listening to such mistaken guides as war advocates. Perhaps men are the only animals who are subject to the influence of such sophistical reasoning as that employed in favor of war.

But we must give our author credit for saying,—"Did men listen to cool reason, they would never make war." This is unquestionably true. Why then did he argue in favor of war? Is it safer for men to listen to passion and prejudice, than "to cool reason?" Could his lordship be guided by wisdom in pleading for a custom which he believed could not exist, if "cool reason" were regarded?

In support of his concession he introduced a passage from Rousseau against war. But in defiance of "cool reason" he could proceed to assert, that "war is necessary for man, being the school of every manly virtue." With more truth he might have said, it is the school of every abominable vice. I was about to say, *every brutal vice*, but I recollected that "man is the only animal which makes war on his own kind." The vices, therefore, of human wars, are something *worse* than *brutal*.

If bloody and ferocious valor be the only "manly virtue,"

war is "a school for every manly virtue," but not otherwise. For it is neither the design nor the tendency of war to cultivate a single virtue recommended in the gospel, either by the precepts or the example of our Saviour.

Which is the most virtuous part of a community, the regular troops, or those who pursue their honest callings at home? Does it appear from the general character of regular troops that "war is a school of every manly virtue?" How much of manly virtue was displayed by the troops of Bayard when they entered Brescia? or the troops of Suwarrow when they entered Warsaw? or the troops of Napoleon when they entered Moscow? If Satan with all his legions were to storm a city, what more horrible or more revolting should we have reason to expect, than has often been done by the armies of Christian nations? Such are the "manly virtues," acquired in the school of war! But if these are *virtues*, what are *vices?* If such conduct be "*manly*," what is *diabolical?*

In another part of his work this writer mentioned the fact, that in England butchers are not permitted to be jurors in criminal cases; and this he regarded as evidence of the humanity of the English. "Why," he asks, "are butchers excluded from being judges in criminal trials? For no other reason than that being inured to the blood of animals, they may have too little regard to the lives of their fellow subjects." See Note, vol. i. p. 343.

Now if being by trade butchers of brute animals, will have such an effect on the human character as is here supposed, what must be the effect of being inured to *human blood* as *butchers of men by profession?* Can it be wonderful if men who are trained up to this dreadful employment, become deaf to the cries of distress, callous to the groans of suffering humanity, and dead to benevolent sensibilities?

We do not deny that there have been pleasing exceptions to this general rule among military men; and many instances of humanity which have done honor to individuals. But the mass of regular troops are doubtless what we might naturally expect they would be, in consequence of being *man butchers* by *profession* and *practice*, and by having been taught to re-

gard ferocious bravery and contempt of death as "manly" and honorable *virtues*.

As his lordship considered war as "necessary to man, being the school of every manly virtue;" so in his opinion "Providence renders kings blind to their true interest, that wars may sometimes take place." This is probably true in the same sense, that Providence rendered his lordship so blind, that he could boldly plead for a custom as necessary and useful, in defiance of the dictates of "cool reason," or while he believed that if men would but "listen to cool reason, they never would make war." But is the true interest of a king so distinct from that of his people, that the latter may be advanced by the very means which injures the former? If not, how does war bless a nation while it injures the "true interest" of the ruler?

We come now to the concluding paragraph—which may be divided:—"Perpetual war is bad, because it converts men into beasts of prey: perpetual peace is worse, because it converts men into beasts of burden."

Are then "beasts of burden" more to be abhorred than "beasts of prey?" Are the tiger and the wolf to be preferred to the horse and the ox? If not, what propriety can be found in the remarks and allusions before us?

We have not however done with these remarkable observations. As his lordship made use of the phrases "beasts of prey" and "beasts of burden," we must be permitted to adopt them in the review. But we wish it may be distinctly understood and kept in mind, that the reply to his lordship's remarks will not be designed to excite a spirit of hostility to human governments, nor a spirit of hatred to any class of men: but to excite a just abhorrence of war, and a true compassion for that portion of our fellow beings, who by delusion are reduced to the condition of soldiers.

It may now be asked, Does not war make men both "beasts of prey" and "beasts of burden?" Are not soldiers for life as ferocious as tigers and as servile as camels? What "beasts of burden are more servile, or more at the will and mercy of a driver, than regular troops? Have not the slaves of Virginia as much rational liberty as soldiers? And when slaves

have kind masters, is not their condition much to be preferred to that of soldiers for life ?

The slave who has a good master is not required to spend his days in robbery and murder. It may be painful to him to think that he is not a free man, but his employments may be both harmless and useful. Can all this be said of the soldier ? His employments are of the most dreadful character ; and whether he knows it or not, he is as really deprived of the rights of a freeman as the slave. Is he not daily subject to a task master who appoints his services, and to whom he is accountable ? Is it not as dangerous for him to disobey, displease or desert his master, as for the slave ? Is he not as completely under control as the slave ? Is the slave liable to any thing worse for desertion or disobedience to orders, or for a disrespectful word, than to be knocked down or run through with a sword, shot to death, or whiped a thousand lashes ? Does the slave stand in more awe of his master, than the soldier does of his officer ? What advantage then has the soldier above the slave ?

Is the slave of adult age still held in bondage ? So is the soldier. Is the slave liable to be removed or driven from place to place contrary to his own will ? So is the soldier. Is the slave who now has a kind master liable to fall into cruel hands ? So is the soldier who has a kind officer. The adult age of a soldier gives him no independence, no right to vote as a citizen, no freedom, no selfcontrol, which the slave does not enjoy. They are equally deprived of the rights of freemen, excepting that slaves can more commonly enjoy the comforts of domestic life and a matrimonial state, than soldiers. Let it become fashionable to attach the ignominious name *slave* to the profession of a soldier, and the term *honour* to the servitude of the Africans, and four fifths of mankind would prefer the condition of the southern slaves to that of the regular troops ; and the preference would be justified by considerations both obvious and weighty.

The soldiers are more especially the scholars in the war school. If then the immediate scholars are deprived of independence, the rights of free citizens, and reduced to a state of degrading servility ; how is " war a school of every manly vir-

tue ?" If the scholars themselves are made both "beasts of prey" and "beasts of burden," who are the men that acquire "every manly virtue" by war? *The officers*, perhaps some would answer. But where is the proof? or if it could be proved, would it be reasonable to burden a whole community with the sins and miseries of war, and to reduce a multitude of soldiers to a condition worse than that of common slaves, that a few officers may obtain manly virtues?

Let the advocates for war, who are in the elevated ranks of life, imagine themselves or their sons, about to be reduced to the condition of private soldiers in a regular army, or that of seamen on board ships of war: would they with such prospects before them, plead for war as "a school of every manly virtue ?" would not the thought of being themselves thus degraded, excite an abhorrence of war with all its pretended blessings? But if they would shrink with horror from being themselves thus reduced, why will they uphold a custom which subjects millions of their fellow men to the worst kind of slavery, who are as worthy of freedom as themselves?

The evils however of this dreadful school have been but partially exposed. By what means has the greater portion of the human family been brought into subjection to despotic governments, and made to serve tyrannical masters? Has this evil resulted from a state of "perpetual peace ?" No, verily; war has done all this. By wars the powerful obtain dominion over the weak. Military chiefs become rulers by conquest—Conquests are extended and empires formed by wars—standing armies become necessary to keep the oppressed from revolting.—These armies, being in a state of military servitude, become the instruments of increasing oppression in the hands of the ambitious. Every successful war strengthens the hands of the ruler. Gradual encroachments are made on the rights of the community. Their property is demanded to support the army, and thus the common people are made the *servants* of *servants*. Not only so; their children are taken from them and hurried away to be slaughtered, or to become the instruments in the hand of a despot in slaughtering others; and of strengthening the chains by which both parents and children are oppressed and held in bondage.

By frequent wars the morals of the world have been so corrupted, and so great a portion of mankind in most nations have become ferocious, that armies of slaves with the name of freemen are thought necessary to prevent civil war, and to support government.

In all military and despotic governments, the great mass of the people are held in a state of oppression, by the terror of standing armies ; and all in the armies but the officers are in a state no better than *slavery*, and in many respects much worse. The whole of this mass of evils has resulted from war.

This pretended school of virtue is in fact the principal school for subverting the liberties and rights of mankind, and for raising a few to the rank of tyrants and oppressors, while the multitude are made to serve as "beasts of burden." It would be easy to produce a hundred examples in which war has reduced communities to servitude. But *when* or *where* was there ever a state reduced to servitude by uninterrupted peace ?

Peace may indeed have preceded the subversion of liberty and the ruin of a state. So a hail storm which has laid waste the fruits of the earth to a great extent, may have been preceded by a season of agreeable weather. The destruction however is not to be ascribed to the good weather, but to the following storm. Yet a man who should undertake to show, that the devastations of the hail storm ought to be ascribed to the favourable season that preceded, would but imitate the reasoning of Lord Kames.

It is doubtless a truth that by a long interval of peace, a community would become less inclined to war—the former warriors would die off—a new generation would come upon the stage and form different habits. Then considerable exertion would be necessary to rouse and inflame the community so far as to dispose them to engage in murderous enterprises. If becoming *less inclined to war*, is what his lordship meant by becoming "*effeminate*"—it is doubtless true that in this sense "perpetual peace" would render mankind "effeminate." But still we have no proof that "perpetual peace is worse" than "perpetual war," nor that such a peace makes "men beasts

of burden." But we have ample proof that war does in fact make them both "beasts of prey" and "beasts of burden."

May we not then without exaggeration assert, that the custom of war is the "slave trade" in its most horrid form, and to a dreadful extent? In addition to the usual horrors of the "African slave trade," the custom of war converts a large portion of mankind into "beasts of prey," as well as "beasts of burden," and employs them in the work of human butchery, and as instruments of oppression to others.

We have yet to consider the last sentence in the Sketch—"To prevent such woful degeneracy on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means; and these means are adopted by Providence." That is, to prevent men from becoming either "beasts of prey" or "beasts of burden," "peace and war alternately are the only effectual means, and these means are adopted by Providence." At the close of the preceding paragraph his lordship had said, "To rely upon Providence in the government of this world is the wisdom of man."

We have no disposition to deny "the wisdom of Providence;" but to question the wisdom of Lord Kames, may not be quite so presumptuous as to deny the wisdom of God.

We freely admit that war takes place under the government of God; nor do we deny that it will be made subservient to a good end. But we do not hence infer that war is justifiable, nor that men act wisely in appearing as its advocates, nor that it is wrong to attempt to exterminate this desolating scourge from the world.

There are some facts which seem to have escaped his lordship's recollection, while urging the Providence of God as an argument in favour of the utility of war. He had before most decidedly censured the private wars under the feudal system, as "brutal and bloody." He frankly acknowledges that "humanity *gains nothing* from wars of small states in close neighbourhood." Yet such wars were for a long time popular in Europe, under the same Providence which has governed the world in later ages. Why then did his lordship object to the feudal wars as useless, and worse than useless, and still plead

for the modern mode of warfare, on the ground of its taking place under the government of God. Did this gentleman suppose that God had become wiser than he was "in the *dark ages*," when the private wars prevailed? If not, why does he condemn one of the modes of warfare and plead for the other?

Luxury is another thing which his lordship censures, as very injurious to mankind, and as the greatest cause of the ruin of nations. But have not all the evils of luxury taken place under Divine Providence? Why then did he reason *against* luxury and in *favour* of war, while both exist under the government of the same God?

All the calamities which men bring on themselves by the licentious indulgence of their lusts and passions, or which God brings on them for their sins, are under the same Providence. Still it is the duty of men to subdue their lusts, to govern their passions, and to reform their lives, that they may escape the anger of God, and the calamities, which unbridled lusts and passions tend to bring on themselves. The providence of God has connected ignominy, disease and untimely death with a course of riot, dissipation, drunkenness and debauchery: Shall we therefore take no pains to reform these vices, to prevent the consequent calamities?

If war may be vindicated as useful in its nature and tendency, because it takes place under the government of God, so may every other vice and calamity. But we are taught not only by the Bible but by common sense, that war is a most dreadful evil, and also that it never could take place but from the vilest lusts and passions of men. Why then is it not as really a duty to use means for the avoidance of this calamity, as any other which results from human wickedness. If it is proper to use means to persuade men not to ruin themselves by luxury, intemperance, debauchery, theft, robbery, or any other course of vice, it is equally reasonable to use means to persuade them to abandon a custom which embraces every species of moral evil, and which fills the world with oppression, murder and wo.

Not only has Lord Kames severely censured the feudal wars and luxury, but also the spirit of persecution which prevailed in former ages. On this latter subject he has said many

excellent things, and observed, with great propriety, the opposition between the persecuting spirit and the spirit of the christian religion. Among other things he says,—"The Christian religion is eminent for a spirit of *meekness*, *toleration* and *brotherly love*; and yet persecution never raged so furiously in any other religion. Such opposition between practice and principle, is a singular phenomenon in the history of man." vol. iv. Note, p. 421.

Who could have written more pertinently on this point? Yet persecutions and wars have taken place under the same Providence; and they are *equally hostile* to that "spirit of meekness, toleration and brotherly love," enjoined by the gospel, and commended by this writer. With respect to war as well as persecution, had there been but *one* such evil, he might have said, "such opposition between practice and principle is a *singular* phenomenon in the history of man," yet while he justly condemned persecution, he boldly appeared as an advocate for war. But "*such* inconsistency" is *not* a singular phenomenon in the history of man.

We have now gone through the "Sketch of War and Peace compared." But his lordship has another argument in favour of war, in the "Sketch on the Origin of Nations," which is perhaps more plausible, if not more formidable, than any which has yet been reviewed. This must not be passed over in silence.

ARGUMENT VI.

"What would men be in the supposed condition of universal peace, concord and security? They would rival the hare or mouse in timidity. Farewell, upon that supposition, to courage, magnanimity, heroism, and to every passion which ennobles human nature! There may perhaps be men, who, hugging themselves in security against harm, would not be altogether averse to such degeneracy. But if such men there be, I pray them to reflect, that in the progress from infancy to maturity all nations do not ripen equally. One nation may have arrived to the supposed perfection of society, before another has advanced much beyond the savage state. What security hath the

former against the latter? Precisely the same that timid sheep have against hungry wolves." vol. ii. pp. 209, 210.

ANSWER.

After what has been said in the preceding pages, there is no need of any answer to the former part of the passage now quoted. I have transcribed it, that the reader may see by what kind of reasoning the christian world has been deluded and kept in the dark on a subject of infinite importance. It has already been made to appear, that war is but ill adapted to improve the human character, and that there is little danger of greater "degeneracy" by peace, than war has occasioned. It may however be true, that "in the progress from infancy to maturity, all nations do not ripen equally. One nation may have arrived to the supposed perfection of society before another has advanced much beyond the savage state." It then becomes a serious question—"What security hath the former against the latter?" To this his lordship gives a short, impressive answer—"Precisely the same that timid sheep have against hungry wolves."

This answer is indeed calculated to alarm those who have no confidence but in an *arm of flesh*, and who are in the habit of thinking that the path of war and blood is the path of safety. But to act wisely, we should inquire whether the danger with which we are threatened be *real*, or only *imaginary*; and whether the danger will not be greater in pursuing the path of war, than in adopting the path of peace.

"Between two evils choose the least," is a maxim worthy of regard, when natural evils only are in view. Between two moral evils we should choose neither; and when the choice is between natural evil and moral evil, we should ever place our hope in God and expose ourselves to the former, rather than to be guilty of the latter. For in no case can it be justifiable to sin, to avoid calamity—or to do evil, that good may come. In the case before us, both natural and moral evil come under consideration.

But for a moment let us set aside the *moral evils* of war, and fairly inquire, whether the plan of peace would probably involve greater calamities than must result from continuing the custom of war. From what have been the consequences of

the popularity of war in ages past, we may reasonably infer what *will* be the consequences, should it be continued for ages to come. If an attempt to abolish war will not involve greater calamities, than a continuance of the custom, the attempt should certainly be made; because war cannot possibly be continued but by a constant course of the most egregious wickedness.

The history of Christendom incontestibly proves that the custom of war does *not* secure a people from *invasion*, *calamity* and *ruin*. On the contrary, this custom has been almost perpetually inflicting on one nation after another, convulsion, misery, and death. Suppose that 50 years ago all the nations of Christendom had united in a solemn league for the abolition of war: Is there the least probability, that they would have suffered greater calamities from the injustice and ferocity of other nations, than they have inflicted on each other by continuing the dreadful custom? Is there any reason to suppose that a twentieth part of the number of lives would have been sacrificed on the plan of peace, that have been sacrificed in supporting war? Could the most savage people have dealt worse with the nations of Christendom, than they have dealt with each other? And would not a fifth part of the property, which has been expended and destroyed by their murderous wars, have been sufficient to preserve peace with every nation on earth? It is presumed that no intelligent and candid person will say, that the nations of Christendom would have probably suffered greater calamities had they unitedly renounced the custom of war 50 years ago, than they have actually suffered in supporting the custom.

If we now bring to view the enormous amount of moral evil, guilt and depravity, which has resulted from continuing the custom for the last 50 years, who in his senses would dare to say, that peace would have been worse than war? Will any one say this, who has the least claim to be considered as a disciple of the Prince of peace?

Should the nations of Christendom agree to abolish the custom of war, it may be thought that the people of the United States, would be exposed to the ferocity of the Indian tribes. But would it not be a hundred fold less expensive to preserve peace with the Indians than to support the custom of war?

The Indians generally make war for revenge, and not for conquest or glory like their more bloody brethren, called Christians. Let the Indians be treated with truly Christian kindness —let a just and pacific spirit be uniformly manifested towards them—let suitable efforts be made to change their opinions in regard to war, and let them in all respects be treated as brethren and friends; then we shall have but little to fear from their ferocity. From the experiment which was actually made by William Penn, as governor of Pennsylvania—and the seventy years' peace which resulted from his benevolent and pacific principles—we are entitled to this conclusion;—that the Indians are a people who may be *won by kindness*, and with whom peace may be maintained on Christian principles.

Had all the first settlers of these states possessed the pacific principles and spirit of William Penn, and had such principles been maintained by all their successors, the disgraceful history of murderous wars between *Christians* and *Indians* would never have been written. Nay on such principles access might probably have been had to the minds of the savages, and much more done in converting them to Christianity. But while professed Christians are more blood-thirsty than the savages themselves, what ground have they to hope for success in their attempts to propagate the gospel among the Indian tribes. Every page in their history as warring Christians, is a contradiction to the religion they profess, and goes to prove, that however excellent the gospel may be in itself, it has failed of producing in them the spirit of peace and love.

If all the nations of Europe should adopt pacific principles, they would probably be as secure in respect to other nations, as we should be in respect to the Indians. And if this be true, their security would be far greater than it now is, with all their warring disposition and warring apparatus.

But it may be said that there will always be ambitious individuals in Christendom, who will disturb the peace of nations in pursuit of military fame; and that there can be no security against such men, but by supporting the custom of war.

To this we answer, that the custom of war *depends entirely on popular opinion*; and it will of course cease when it ceases to be popular. Strip this abominable custom of its false and

delusive glory—let it be exhibited in all its murderous and desolating deformities, as a custom which involves every thing hateful and wicked—let such abhorrence be excited against it, as is now felt for the less odious "slave trade:"—then there will be no more opportunity to acquire fame by military conquests, than there now is by highway robbery. Of course the most common and most powerful motive to military exploits will cease to operate; and ambitious men will be constrained to adopt some other road to fame.

When private wars among noblemen were in *fashion*, they were *frequent*, and threatened to depopulate Europe. They have lost their popularity and the custom is dead. Indeed it died a natural death, by losing its *breath* of popular applause. In the same manner the custom of public war *will die*, when its popularity is destroyed. For *breath* is not more necessary to the continuance of animal life, than *popularity* is to the continuance of national wars. And when war shall have lost its imaginary glory, ambitious men will cease in this way to disturb the tranquillity of the world. For such men will not fight for glory, when it shall cease to be glory to fight.

But suppose that in the attempt to abolish the custom of war, there should be many instances of carnage among those of a peaceful character: Still there is no reason to believe that the amount would be a twentieth part so great, as must result from continuing the custom. Professed duellists fall by the hand of violence, while men of peaceful character are unmolested. So nations which glory in war, will often be engaged in the dreadful work. But let them adopt pacific principles, and avow a decided abhorrence of war, and they will seldom be disturbed. If a duellist should send a challenge to a man of the society of Friends, or of the society of Shakers, his conduct would be despised even by gentlemen of his own class. On the same general principle, warring nations would forbear to make war on a people who had renounced the fighting character, and were disposed to suffer wrong, rather than to do wrong, or to render evil for evil.

The things which have been already mentioned, may be regarded as in some measure an answer to the question—What security would a peaceful nation have against those of a war-

ring, savage character? But, as a Christian, I may add—There is ground to hope that if a nation should adopt the pacific principles of the gospel, the "GOD OF PEACE" would befriend and protect them. By this, however, is not intended, that we are to expect miraculous interference for the protection of a peaceful nation. But when the ways of a nation please the Lord, he can without recourse to miracles, so order events, that even their enemies shall be at peace with them. And in general, nothing has a greater tendency to disarm malevolence and turn away wrath, than the proper display of a pacific spirit.

Lord Kames supposed that a peaceful people would have no greater security against savage nations, than "timid sheep have against hungry wolves." But men do not make war for the sake of drinking each other's blood, as wolves make war on sheep. In men, the *thirst for blood* in a great measure depends on a *thirst for fame*. By the diffusion of Christian principles, and by well conducted efforts to excite an abhorrence of war, the number of military "wolves" will be diminished, and the thirst for blood will abate. War for glory will fall into disrepute, and war for plunder will be placed as it ought to be, on the ground of highway robbery and piratical depredations.

But to those who profess allegiance to the Prince of peace, I would here address some serious questions:—Shall we, my brethren, uphold a diabolical and murderous custom, which converts professed Christians into "wolves," through fear that if we become truly Christ's "sheep" we shall be devoured? Shall we thus proclaim to the world that we have "*not* the spirit of Christ," and that we have no confidence in the good Shepherd, nor in the God of our salvation? Is it better for Christians to support the character of "wolves," than to risk the consequences of becoming truly Christ's sheep? Must the professed sheep of Christ forever bear the character of "wolves," because there are "wolves" in the world? Shall they support the character of "wolves" till other "wolves" shall cease to exist? If so, *when* or *how* will wars cease, to the ends of the earth? Must Christians renounce all trust in God and act the part of *bloody men*, lest they should be destroyed by other people? Must they be rivals to bloody men in wickedness, lest they perish by bloody hands? If this be the path of duty and

of safety, let us renounce the gospel, and become in profession as well as practice, Pagans or Mahometans. But if we wish to retain the profession and the hope of Christians, let us become Christians in deed and in truth—in temper and in practice—by renouncing war and violence, and by following the Prince of peace.—"For even hereunto were ye called; because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye should *follow his steps.*" "Then said Jesus to his disciples, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall save it."—"And fear not them who kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell—yea, I say unto you, FEAR HIM."

PREPARATORY EVENTS, AND ENCOURAGING FACTS.

When any important object is proposed to be pursued, we naturally look around and ask, what preparations have been made by Providence? Is there any thing already in existence which is calculated to encourage and favor the enterprize? or any thing which may easily be made subservient, and readily called into operation?

By careful inquiry it may perhaps be found, that God has long been preparing the way for the proposition which is now distinctly made—*the abolition of war.* The rapid progress of knowledge and the tremendous calamities of war, in the last 50 years, may have been designed to prepare the minds of men for what is now proposed. But this is not all; within that period a vast number of religious, moral, charitable and humane societies have been formed in Great Britain and America. These in their natural tendency must all be auxiliaries to the object now in view; and it will be easy to give them a direction which will render them doubly subservient and useful.

The Society of Friends has become both numerous and respectable. They have always been opposed to war. By a letter from a worthy gentleman of that sect it appears, "that on this continent there are nearly one thousand Congregations of

Friends." And such is their situation in the several states, their intimate connexion, their stated meetings and their method of intercourse, that they have it in their power to afford abundant aid in any cause which meets their approbation; and in the present case their disposition will not be questioned by those who know them.

From the known sentiments and general character of the Moravians or United Brethren, we cannot doubt their hearty concurrence, and faithful exertions.

May we not also hope that the numerous clerical associations of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists and Methodists, have all been formed by Providence "*for such a time as this*," and for the great object now before us? What object can be pursued in their meetings more important or more becoming the ministers of the Prince of peace? Surely associations of *ministers* should be PEACE associations. To them we seriously propose the object, and we hope that no arguments will be needful to insure their concurrence.

We may now concisely state some other encouraging facts.

At the very time the "Solemn Review of the Custom of War" was in the press in this country, the commissioners at Ghent were forming a treaty of peace. The "Review" proposed as a "Remedy" for war, that such questions between governments as could not be settled by negotiation, should be referred to a high court appointed for that purpose. The commissioners devised a similar plan for settling the questions still in dispute between Great Britain and the United States. To any person of common discernment it must be evident, that the plan they devised may be extended to any questions of controversy between different governments, and entirely preclude the *pretended* necessity of war.

Moreover, it appears that in different states and nations, and nearly at the same time, God has been calling the attention of Christians to this subject. Soon after the "Solemn Review" was published in Massachusetts, a very valuable work appeared in New York, entitled "War inconsistent with the religion of Jesus Christ, as it is inhuman, unwise, and criminal." We have also seen two excellent sermons, entitled "The life of man inviolable by the laws of Christ." These were delivered at

Colchester, in Connecticut, March 19, 1815, by Rev. Aaron Cleveland.

We have also the happiness to state, that a short but well written "Essay on the impolicy of war, by William Pitt Scargill," has recently arrived in this country from London, accompanied by a letter from the author, to the Rev. W. E. Channing of Boston. Mr. Scargill, it appears, had not heard that the subject was under examination in this country. The object of the letter was, to give notice that it had been taken up in Great Britain, and to excite to similar exertions among us. The letter was dated June 1, 1815.

It may be proper here to observe that a copy of the "Solemn Review" was sent to England, accompanied by a letter to Mr. W. Wilberforce, bearing date April 13, 1815. The design of this letter was to excite the attention of that worthy gentleman, and some others, to the object proposed in the "Solemn Review"—the writer not knowing that any thing of the kind had recently been published in Great Britain, or that any attention had been already excited in that country.

This remarkable coincidence of events, impressions, and efforts, may afford ground of hope, that God is engaged in the cause for the abolition of war, and that the exertions of the friends of peace will not be in vain.

The subject was also explicitly and respectfully recommended to the consideration of the Massachusetts Legislature in the Election Sermon the present year, by the Rev. Mr. Flint of Bridgewater: and the following motion was made in the "Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers," by the Rev Dr. Worcester of Salem;—"That a committee of five be appointed to consider, whether it is expedient for this Convention to adopt any measure, or measures, and if any, what, to correct the public mind on the subject of war."

The motion was adopted without opposition, and the committee appointed were Dr. Worcester of Salem, Mr. Channing of Boston, Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard University, Mr. Foster of Brighton, and Dr. Osgood of Medford.

In the report of the executive committee of the Massachusetts Bible Society, the subject was brought to view in the following language:—

"We have ever esteemed it one of the happiest effects of Bible Societies, that they tend to unite Christians of all nations; and it is our hope that they will awaken in Christians universally so strong a sense of the near relation which they sustain to each other, and of their obligations to mutual love and kindness, that wars between communities which profess the religion of Christ will be more and more abhorred, as most unnatural and altogether irreconcilable with the holy and pacific name which they bear."—"May the time soon arrive when Christians of every nation will speak on this subject, in a language which every government will be forced to hear and obey."

These facts have been collected to prove to our readers, that the God of peace is at work for the abolition of war, and that he is stirring up one after another fearlessly to plead his cause in the most public manner; and men too whose talents and influence, when combined in a good cause, promise the most happy results. The object in view is not of a party nature; it embraces the best interests of every sect and every nation, in which there are *lives* to be *preserved* or *souls* to be *saved*.

A RECENT "DECLARATION" OF THE CONGRESS AT VIENNA IMPROVED.

The late "Declaration" of the Congress at Vienna on the subject of the "African slave trade," affords gratifying evidence of the progress of light in Europe; and it contains observations which are applicable to the custom of war. It also suggests some of the means by which war may be abolished, and affords ground to hope that exertions for the desirable event will prove successful.

The American Revolution was overruled by Providence, and made the means of exciting inquiry and diffusing light respecting the inhumanity of the traffic in "slaves and souls of men." While professedly contending for *liberty* and the *natural rights of men*, reflecting minds could not fail to take into view the *slave trade*, and to see the inconsistency of contending for their own freedom, and at the same time tolerating and supporting a dreadful commerce for enslaving our fellow beings. The reflections and inquiries thus produced

finally resulted in the abolition of the slave trade in the United States. The subject was next taken up in Great Britain ; and after a long conflict between light and darkness, the light triumphed, and the point was carried in the British Parliament. The Father of lights gave effect to the benevolent exertions of a few men, and the people of Great Britain became so enlightened, that they abolished a commerce which they had long regarded as justifiable, lucrative and even necessary. Now that people have such an abhorrence of this traffic, that they cannot rest easy until it shall have been abolished by all the European governments. By their influence the subject was brought before the Congress of Vienna, and what is the result? We behold a "Declaration" in behalf of all the powerful nations of Europe, purporting that the slave trade " has been regarded by just and enlightened men in all ages as repugnant to the principles of humanity and universal morality"—that it is " a scourge which has desolated Africa, degraded Europe and afflicted humanity"—" that at last the public voice in all civilized countries has demanded it should be suppressed as soon as possible"—" that this is a measure particularly worthy of their attention"—" that they are animated with a desire to concur by every means in their power in the most prompt and effectual execution of the measure ;" and that this is " a cause of which the final triumph will be one of the greatest monuments of the age that undertook it, and which shall have gloriously carried it into effect."

Such is the language of the Congress of Vienna, and such the progress of light on this subject since the American Revolution. The spark which resulted from that dreadful collision has been gradually increasing, till at length it has illuminated all the nations of Christendom. " Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth !"

Let it now be considered that the custom of war is as perfectly unnecessary, unjust and inhuman as the slave trade ; that while the slave trade has destroyed and distressed its thousands and its tens of thousands, the custom of war has destroyed and distressed its millions and its tens of millions : that war has not only " desolated Africa and degraded Europe," but has eclipsed the light of Christianity, stained with blood

the Christian name, "afflicted humanity" in all parts of the earth, and filled the world with crimes and woes. Let it also be considered that the custom of war as really depends on popular opinion, as the slave trade ever did, and that it may be abolished by similar means. What then ought to be our feelings, our prayers, our hopes and our exertions relating to this tremendous scourge and curse of nations?

As the Revolution in America was overruled by God for the dawn and diffusion of light on the subject of the slave trade, so the late unhappy contest between our country and Great Britain, may be overruled by the diffusion of light on the subject of war. And should there be suitable exertions on the part of professed Christians in the two countries, the way may soon be prepared for another European Congress to pronounce as decisive a doom on the custom of war, as the recent Congress has done on the traffic in slaves.

Is it not a fact that 50 years ago the traffic in slaves was as popular in Europe and America, as war is at the present time? Is there not now in this country a far greater number of "just and enlightened men" who are, on principle, decidedly opposed to war, than there was 50 years ago opposed to the slave trade? Would not a serious attempt for the abolition of the slave trade at that period, have met with ten times the opposition that the attempt for the abolition of war now does? Where is the godly minister of any sect, or where is the man renowned for talents and virtue, who has attended to the subject, that feels any disposition to oppose the efforts for the abolition of war? Truly we have not heard of so many as *three* respectable opponents, among all who have read what has been written on the subject. Was there ever a subject brought forward in our country, so novel and half so interesting, which met with so little opposition? May we not then humbly hope in God, that in less than 50 years from this time, our country will be as free from war advocates, as it now is from advocates for the African commerce in slaves?

With what abhorrence would the people of these states now regard a proposition to revive the abolished slave trade! What odium would a man bring on himself who should propose and urge such a project! In a light not less odious will a proposi-

tion for a revival of the *traffic in blood* soon be regarded, if Christians should not be deficient in their exertions. Say not "there is a lion in the way;"—the cause is the Lord's, and his grace and his arm are all-sufficient.

This article may be closed by an extract from the conclusion of the late pamphlet from London, by Mr. Scargill:—"Would it not then be desirable to form associations in every part of the kingdom, whose object should be to raise a little fund for the necessary expenses attending such unions, and that these associations should use their best endeavours to impress upon the minds of the people at large, the desirableness and practicability of abolishing the system of war altogether. Could the ministers of religion make a better use of their pulpits than to inculcate from them the doctrine of Jesus Christ—the doctrine of peace?——

"Nor let us imagine that associations for this benevolent purpose will be confined to this country; the friends of humanity and religion in every part of Europe, in every quarter of the globe, would cheerfully contribute their assistance to an object so powerful in its tendency to ameliorate the human race and increase the comforts of mankind."

Let Christians in the United States awake, take courage, and "go and do likewise."

THE

FRIEND OF PEACE.

No. III.

THE HORRORS OF NAPOLEON'S CAMPAIGN IN RUSSIA.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this work is the peace and salvation of mankind. Whether we display the blessings of peace or the evils of war, the ultimate purpose will be the same. As men are influenced by motives, of good to be enjoyed, and of evils to be avoided or endured, such motives will be exhibited, to excite a love of peace, and an aversion to war.

It is natural to suppose, that circulating correct histories of the evils of war, would have the effect to excite a general abhorrence of the custom. But in the usual way of writing such histories, the horrors and distresses of the sanguinary scenes are in such a manner accompanied with encomiums on the bravery of fighting men and the glories of victory, that the mind of the reader is diverted from the tremendous havoc and distress. He is perhaps told that a wonderful victory was obtained at great expense, that the number of killed and wounded on the part of the victors could not be less than 15 or 20,000; and that the loss on the side of the vanquished was much greater. But he is not permitted to dwell on the miseries of such a scene. His attention is soon called to the display of skill and valour on the part of the officers and soldiers. If the prepossessions of the historian are in favour of the victors, he will perhaps admit that much *praisè* is due to the enemy, that they fought with astonishing intrepidity, and displayed heroism worthy of a better cause. But nothing could resist the valour of the victorious army. In respect to the loss on the side of the vic-

tors, the writer consoles himself and his reader, with such considerations as these :—The honourable manner in which the dead and the wounded exposed their lives for the good of their country—the honour of the victory—the great advantages obtained, and the fact that the loss was much greater on the part of the enemy. By the time the reader has attended to all the displays of heroism, the praises bestowed on the living and the dead, and the glories of victory, he has in a great measure lost sight of the horrors of the scene—a scene in which acres of ground were crimsoned with human blood, and covered with the bodies of the dead and the dying, and the mangled limbs of wounded men.

An account of such a battle in a News Paper, headed "A Glorious Victory," or "Glorious News," would probably leave a fainter impression on the mind, of the horrors of the scene, than another article in the same paper headed—"Horrid Murder," containing particulars of the distress of a single family, occasioned by the murder of one man or woman. Yet both the guilt and distress accompanying the "Glorious Victory" may have been ten thousand times greater, than that which accompanied the "Horrid Murder." Indeed the narratives of bloody battles are often so embellished with feats of valour, heroism and glory, that they leave on the minds of the gay and inconsiderate little more impression of guilt or distress, than a brilliant account of a horse race.

Two histories of Napoleon's campaign in Russia have arrived in this country. One by Sir Robert Ker Porter, entitled "A Narrative of the Campaign in Russia, during the year 1812 :" The other by Eugene Labaume, Captain of the Royal Geographical Engineers, &c. &c. entitled "A circumstantial Narrative of the Campaign in Russia." Porter was on the side of the Russians, and Labaume on the side of the French. These two historians sometimes differ in their accounts of battles, but they agree in pronouncing the war "*unjust*" on the part of Napoleon.

From the two Narratives which have been mentioned, the following accounts will be given, and generally in the language of one or other of the historians. A concise view of that expedition is all that can be expected. As the object will be to

excite a just aversion to war, no pains will be taken to veil its horrors by expatiating on the valour by which they were produced, or the delusive glories by which they were accompanied. Neither will any false colouring be employed to represent the scenes as more dreadful than they really were. The object will be to exhibit the horrors of the campaign in a *naked form*, for the contemplation of the reader.

Napoleon left Paris in May; found himself at the head of his grand army in Poland, June 16; and commenced hostilities on the 23d of the same month. The events from this time prior to the battle at Smolensko will be passed over in silence.

In the following Narrative the paragraphs under P. will be taken from Porter; those under L. from Labaume. The reader may therefore continually know whose account he is reading.

As all the nations concerned in that war were professed *Christians*, some motto will be prefixed to each article, which the reader is requested to keep in view while reading what follows.

BATTLE OF SMOLENSKO.*

"*This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you.*

"*By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another!*" Messiah.

P. "On the morning of August 17th there was an awful pause. The armies of two vast empires stood gazing at each other as if studying where to strike the mortal blow. At length the silence of meditated death was broken. From the extreme point of the Russian right to that of the left, fire from a hundred cannon poured destruction amid the enemy's ranks, Rapid discharges of musketry, which ran along the front, seconded the guns with a horrible carnage.

"The attack of the French was not less vigorous or terrific. Their numerous artillery gave bloody answer to that of the

* Or Smolenzk.

Russian position ; whilst their multitude and concentrating movements, bore along upon their adversaries with a force that seemed formed to sweep all before them.—The battle now raged with the most desperate fury. In spite of a dreadful fire from the Russian artillery, the enemy pushed on to the entrenched suburbs, and in the very mouths of the guns attacked the Russian troops at the point of the bayonet. The havoc on both sides was prodigious. The earth was covered with the wounded and the dead. For upwards of two hours the bloody conflict was maintained. At last their movements were impeded by the numbers of the slain, and finding that hostile troops pressed upon their thinned ranks, the Russians retired to Smolensko."

Such was the carnage in the suburbs.

"The city now became the immediate object of attack.—The dreadful hours of destruction rolled on, and the ruin and death of thousands became the horrible marks of French aggression. Hosts continued to fall on both sides.

"The interior of this once beautiful and flourishing capital began to present a scene heart rending to the eye of a common spectator. Every magazine was destroyed, every edifice fired which could offer the means of resource to the enemy.

"No person can describe the rage of Napoleon on beholding the spectacle which presented itself. To preserve some means for quartering his troops he ordered every exertion to stop the progress of the flames. The men employed gave themselves little trouble in their duty—and entering the houses and churches, pillaged whatever valuable they found, and murdered with the most unheard of cruelties all whom accident or attachment to their native city had left in their passage." From p. 111 to 116.

Labaume was not present at the battle of Smolensko, but arrived soon after. He says—

L. "August 19th we entered Smolensko by the suburb that is built along by the bank of the river. In every direction we marched over scattered ruins and dead bodies. Places, still burning, offered to our sight only walls half destroyed by the flames; and thick among the fragments were the blackened

carcases of the wretched inhabitants. The few houses that remained were completely filled by the soldiery, while at the door stood the miserable proprietor deploring the death of his children and the loss of his fortune. The churches alone afforded some consolation to the unhappy victims who had no other shelter. On one side was an old man just expiring. On the other an infant whose feeble cries, the mother, worn down with grief, was endeavouring to hush, and while she presented it with the breast, her tears dropped fast upon it. In the midst of this desolation the passage of the army into the interior of the town formed a striking contrast. On one side was seen the abject submission of the conquered—on the other the pride attendant on victory. The former had lost their all—the latter, rich with spoils and ignorant of defeat, marched proudly on to the sound of warlike music." Pages 97, 98.

Was it *thus* that Christ loved his disciples !

THE BATTLE OF BORODINO.

"*See how these Christians love one another.*" Pagans.

P. "The night passed slowly over the wakeful heads of the impatient combatants. The morning of the 7th of September at length broke, and thousands beheld the dawn for the last time. The moment was arrived when the dreadful discharge of two thousand cannon was to break the silence of expectation, and arouse at once all the horrors of war.

"General as the attack seemed, the corps of Prince Bagration had to sustain the accumulating weight of nearly half the French army ; and the determination shown by its cavalry was so desperate, that they charged even up to the very mouths of the Russian guns. Whole regiments of them, both horses and men were swept down by the cannon shot ; and all along the front of Bagration's line rose a breast work of dead and dying.

"Napoleon ordered up fifty additional pieces of artillery, and a fresh division of infantry, with several regiments of dragoons. This new force rushed on over the bodies of their

fallen countrymen and did not allow themselves to be checked until they reached the parapets of the Russian works. Their vigorous onset overturned with fierce slaughter every thing that opposed them, and obliged Bagration to fall back nearer to the second line of the army.

"The rage of battle at this crisis was not to be described. The thunder of a thousand pieces of artillery was answered by the discharge of an equal number on the part of the Russians. A veil of smoke shut out the combatants from the sun, and left them no other light to pursue the work of death than the flashes of musketry, which blazed in every direction.—The sabres of 40,000 dragoons met each other, and clashed in the horrid gloom; and the bristling points of countless bayonets, bursting through the rolling vapour, strewed the earth with heaps of slain.

"Such was the scene for an extent of many wersts, and the dreadful contest continued without cessation until the darkness of the night. Thus closed that memorable day, and with it terminated the lives of EIGHTY THOUSAND human beings. The horses which lay on the ground from right to left, numbered full 25,000." From p. 147 to 154.

L. "The next day, says Labaume, very early in the morning, we returned to the field of battle. In the space of a *square league almost every spot was covered with the killed and wounded.* On many places the bursting of the shells had promiscuously heaped together men and horses. But the most horrid spectacle was the interior of the ravines; almost all the wounded who were able to drag themselves along had taken refuge there, to avoid the shot. These miserable wretches heaped one upon another, and almost suffocated with blood, uttering the most dreadful groans, and invoking death with piercing cries, eagerly besought us to put an end to their torments." pp. 148, 149.

See how these Christians murder one another!

THE DESTRUCTION OF MOSCOW.

"*Love worketh no ill to his neighbour.*" Paul.

"*Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.*" Messiah.

THAT the French might be deprived of a place of refuge and means of subsistence, the Russians determined to abandon and to destroy their great and ancient city.

P. "On the 14th of September at mid-day the enemy appeared before the walls of Moscow. His advanced guards entered the gates with all the pride and pomp of conquest. The troops moved towards the Kremlin. A part of the self-devoted citizens had taken refuge there; and, closing the gates, desperately attempted its defence. The gates were instantly forced, and the brave victims of patriotism massacred upon the floor of their ancient fortress.

"Scarcely had the murderous act been perpetrated, when the pyres of loyalty were lighted, and Moscow appeared at different quarters in flames. The French troops as they poured into the devoted city had spread themselves in every direction in search of plunder; and in their progress they committed outrages so horrid on the persons of all whom they discovered, that fathers, desperate to save their children from pollution, would set fire to their place of refuge, and find a surer asylum in its flames.

"The streets, the houses, the cellars, flowed with blood, and were filled with violation and carnage. Manhood seemed to be lost in the French soldier; for nothing was to be discerned in him but the wild beast ravening for prey; or rather the fiend of hell gluttoning himself in the commission of every horrible crime. Every corps of the army marching in from the camp without the barriers could prove the same right to plunder, as that which had been exercised by those whose good fortune had sent them first into the field of pillage.—NAPOLEON HAD PROMISED THEM THE TREASURES OF MOSCOW.

"While on his march, and perceiving the spires and minarets of Moscow at a distance, he pointed to them and exclaim-

ed to his followers, *Behold the end of your campaign! Its gold and its plenty are yours.*" pp. 181, 182.

As Porter was on the side of the Russians, some may think the account is exaggerated. I will therefore make some extracts from Labaume, who was on the side of the French.

L. "The most heart-rending scene which my imagination had ever conceived, far surpassing the most afflicting accounts in ancient or modern history, now presented itself before our eyes. A great part of the population of Moscow, frightened at our arrival, had concealed themselves in cellars or secret recesses of their houses. As the fire spread around, we saw them rushing in despair from their various asylums. They uttered no imprecations, they breathed no complaint, but carrying with them their most precious effects, fled before the flames. Others of greater sensibility, and actuated by the genuine feelings of nature, saved only their children, who were closely clasped in their arms. Many old people, borne down with grief rather than by age, had not sufficient strength to follow their families, and expired near the houses in which they were born.

"How shall I describe the confusion and tumult when permission was granted to pillage this immense city! Soldiers, suttlers, galley slaves and prostitutes, eagerly ran through the streets, penetrating into the deserted palaces, and carrying away every thing which could gratify their avarice. This horrible pillage was not confined to the deserted houses alone, but extended to those which were inhabited; and soon the eagerness and wantonness of the plunderers, caused devastations which almost equalled those occasioned by the conflagration. Every asylum was soon violated by the licentious troops.

"Towards evening, when Napoleon no longer thought himself safe in the city, the ruin of which seemed inevitable, he left the Kremlin and established himself with his suite in the castle at Peterskoë. When I saw him pass by I could not, without abhorrence, behold the chief of a barbarous expedition, who evidently endeavoured to escape the decided testimony of public indignation by seeking the darkest road. He sought it however in vain. On every side the flames seemed

to pursue him, and their horrible and mournful glare, flashing on his guilty head, reminded me of the torches of the Eumenides, pursuing the destined victims of the furies.

"The generals likewise received orders to quit Moscow.—Licentiousness then became unbounded. The soldiers, no longer restrained by the presence of their chiefs, committed every kind of excess. No retreat was now safe, no place sufficiently sacred to afford any protection against their rapacity.

"Nothing could equal the anguish which absorbed every feeling heart, and which increased in the dead of night by the cries of the miserable victims, who were savagely murdered, or by the screams of the young females, who fled for protection to their weeping mothers, and whose ineffectual struggles tended only to inflame the passions of their violators.

"Desirous of terminating the recital of this horrid catastrophe, for which history wants expressions, and poetry has no colours, I shall pass over in silence many circumstances, revolting to humanity, and merely describe the dreadful confusion which arose in our army, when the fire had reached every part of Moscow, and the whole city was become one immense flame.

"A long row of carriages was perceived through the thick smoke, loaded with booty. Being too heavily laden for the exhausted cattle to draw them along, they were obliged to halt at every step, when we heard the execrations of the drivers, who, terrified at the sourrounding flames, endeavoured to push forward, with dreadful outcries. The soldiers were still armed, diligently employed in forcing open every door. They seemed to fear lest they should leave one house untouched.—In spite of the extreme peril which threatened them, the love of plunder induced our soldiers to brave every danger. Stimulated by an irresistible desire of pillage, they precipitated themselves into the flames. They waded in blood, treading upon the dead bodies without remorse, whilst the ruins of the houses, mixed with burning coals, fell thick on their murderous hands.

"September 17. I witnessed the most dreadful and the most affecting scenes which it is possible to conceive, namely, the unhappy inhabitants drawing upon some mean vehicles all

that they had been able to save from the conflagration. The soldiers having robbed them of their horses, the men and women were slowly and painfully dragging along these little carts; some of which contained an infirm mother, others a paralytic old man, and others the miserable wrecks of half consumed furniture; children half naked, followed these interesting groups. Without a shelter, and without food, these unfortunate beings wandered in the fields, and fled into the woods; but wherever they bent their steps, they met the conquerors of Moscow, who frequently ill treated them, and sold before their eyes the goods which had been stolen from their own deserted habitations." From p. 203 to 214.

THE RETREAT FROM MOSCOW.

"*They would none of my counsel; they despised all my reproof; Therefore shall they eat of the fruits of their own way, and be filled with their own devices. For the turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them.*" Prov. i. 30, 31, 32.

THE horrors of the French retreat will be given in the language of Labaume. In his account of the scenes at Moscow he says: "Even the most hardened minds were struck with a conviction, that so great a calamity would on some future day call forth the vengeance of the Almighty upon the authors of such crimes." This presentiment was well founded; nor was it long before the plundering legions of Napoleon experienced as great calamities, as they had occasioned to the Russians. The measure they had meted, was measured to them again. In the following narrative we shall have evidence of the truth, proclaimed by the Chaldean monarch—THEY THAT WALK IN PRIDE, THE LORD IS ABLE TO ABASE.

L. "Although, says Labaume, the ruin of Moscow was a great loss to the Russians, it was more sensibly felt by us, and it insured to our enemies all the advantages which they had promised themselves from the rigor of their climate.—Their hopes, founded on this calculation, could not be disappointed; for our formidable army, though it arrived in the fine season,

had lost one third of its numbers merely by the rapidity of its march ; and the enemy had no reason to fear that we could maintain any position, since our want of discipline had made a desart of our conquests, and our improvident chief had formed no plan to facilitate our retreat.

"They who possessed the smallest foresight, predicted our misfortunes, and imagined that they read on the walls of the Kremlin those prophetic words, which an invisible hand traced before Belshazzar in the midst of his greatest prosperity :— 'God hath numbered this kingdom and finished it : thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting : thy kingdom is divided, and given to other hands.'

The French began their retreat on the 19th of October.

"The long files of carriages in three or four ranks extended for several leagues, loaded with the immense booty which the soldiers snatched from the flames." But this booty only served to retard their progress. The Russians soon began to harass them on their retreat ; and on the 25th of October a battle was fought, which was so destructive to the French army, that the soldiers said, "But two battles more like this, and Napoleon will be without an army."

Oct. 26. "At every step were waggons abandoned for want of horses to draw them, and the fragments of innumerable carriages burned for the same reason—and we listened with melancholy forebodings to the frequent explosion of ammunition waggons"

Oct. 28. "In addition to all these evils the want of provisions aggravated our sufferings. That which we brought from Moscow was almost consumed. Our horses fared still worse —many of them died of fatigue and hunger.

"Napoleon, who preceded us one day's march, had already passed Mojaisk, burning and destroying every thing which he found on his route. His soldiers were so intent on this devastation, that they set fire to the places where we should have halted. This exposed us to great and unnecessary suffering.

Oct. 30. "The nearer we approached to the Mojaisk the more desolate the country appeared. But most horrible was the multitude of dead bodies which, deprived of burial fifty

two days, scarcely retained the human form. On arriving at Borodino my consternation was inexpressible, at finding the 20,000 men, who had perished there, yet lying uncovered.

"Three thousand prisoners were brought from Moscow. Having nothing to give them during the march, they were at night driven into a narrow fold like so many beasts. Without fire, and without food, they lay on the bare ice, and to assuage the hunger that tortured them, those who had not courage to die, nightly fed on the flesh of their companions, whom fatigue, misery, and famine had destroyed. But I turn from a picture so shocking—I shall soon have horrors enough to describe which fell to the lot of my companions in arms."

Oct. 31. "All seemed to feel that their only safety consisted in manfully struggling with the difficulties by which we were surrounded. They had for many days been reduced to subsist on horse flesh! even the generals had begun to share the same food."

Nov. 4. "At one o'clock in the morning, we marched along the great road, groping our way in the dark. The route was entirely covered with the fragments of carriages and artillery. Men and horses, worn out with fatigue, could scarcely drag themselves along, and as soon as the last fell exhausted, the soldiers eagerly divided the carcase among them."

Nov. 6. "The soldiers vainly struggling with the snow and the wind, which rushed upon them with the violence of a whirlwind, could no longer distinguish the road; and falling into the ditches which bordered it, found a grave. How many unfortunate beings on this dreadful day, dying of cold and famine, struggled hard with the agonies of death. Stretched on the road, we could distinguish only the heaps of snow which covered them, and which at almost every step formed little undulations, like so many graves.

"From that day the army lost its courage and its military attitude. The soldier no longer obeyed his officer—searching for food they spread themselves over the plain, burning and pillaging whatever fell in their way. The horses fell by thousands. The cannon and the waggons which had been abandoned served only to obstruct the way. No sooner had the

soldiers separated from the ranks than they were assailed by a population eager to avenge the horrors of which it had been the victims. The Cossacks came to the succor of the peasants, and drove back to the great road, already filled with the dying and the dead, those who escaped from the carnage made among them. Tormented with hunger, we saw them run after every horse the moment it fell. They devoured it raw like dogs, and fought among themselves for the mangled limbs."

Nov. 8th, presented a terrible scene in the attempt to cross the Wop, while the Russians were approaching. "In this situation every one yielded to despair—we were forced to abandon a hundred pieces of cannon, and a great number of ammunition and provision waggons, which contained the little that remained of the provisions of Moscow. The cries of those who were crossing the river, the consternation of others who were preparing to descend—the despair of the women, the shrieks of children, and the terror even of the soldiers, rendered the passage a scene so horrible, that the very recollection of it terrifies those who witnessed it."

Nov. 13. "It was horrible to see and to hear the enormous dogs with shaggy hair, which, driven from the villages we had burned, followed us along our march. Dying with hunger, they uttered one incessant and frightful howl, and often disputed with the soldiers the carcases of the horses which fell in our route. In addition to this the ravens, attracted by the scent of the dead bodies, hovered over us in black and innumerable crowds, and by their cries of mournful presage, struck the stoutest hearts with terror."

"Happily we were but two leagues from Smolensko. But what was our grief when we learned that the ninth corps was gone, and that the provisions were all consumed. A thunderbolt falling at our feet would have confounded us less than did this news.

"Thus Smolensko, which we had thought would have terminated our misfortunes, cruelly deceived our dearest hopes, and became the witness of our greatest disgrace and our most profound despair. The soldiers, who could not find shelter,

encamped in the middle of the street, and some hours after were found dead around the fires they had kindled."

Nov. 14. "The Emperor received every day, disastrous news of his armies.

No. 15. "Marching from Smolensko, a spectacle the most horrible was presented to our view. From that point till we arrived at a distance of about three leagues, the road was entirely covered with cannon and ammunition waggons—horses in the agonies of death—sometimes whole teams, sinking under their labours, fell together. We saw soldiers stretched by dozens around the green branches which they had vainly attempted to kindle, and so numerous were their bodies, that they would have obstructed the road, had not the soldiers been often employed in throwing them into the ditches and ruts."

Nov. 16. "Many distinguished officers perished on that bloody day. The field of battle was covered with the dead and the dying."

"The Russians have divided our retreat into three principal epochs—the first ended at the battle of Krasnoe, to which we have now arrived. They had already taken 40,000 men, 27 generals, 500 pieces of cannon, 31 standards, and beside our own immense baggage, all the plunder of Moscow that we had not destroyed. If to all these disasters we add 40,000 more dead of fatigue or famine, or killed in the different battles, we shall find that our army was reduced to 30,000."

After this they had a reinforcement of many thousands who had not been to Moscow. "The reinforcements, says the historian, which these troops brought us was very acceptable; yet we almost doubted whether the junction of so many men in the midst of a vast desart, might not increase our misfortunes."

THE HORRIBLE SCENE AT BERESINA.

We pass over many affecting scenes, and come to what took place at Beresina. Two bridges had been constructed, "one for the carriages and the other for the foot soldiers." About 8 o'clock (Nov. 28,) the bridge for the carriages and the cavalry broke down; the baggage and artillery then advanced towards the other bridge and attempted to force a passage.

"Now began a frightful contention between the foot soldiers and the horsemen. Many perished by the hands of their comrades, but a greater number were suffocated at the head of the bridge; and the dead bodies of men and horses so choaked every avenue, that it was necessary to climb over mountains of carcasses to arrive at the river. Some who were buried in these horrible heaps still breathed, and struggling with the agonies of death, caught hold of those who mounted over them; but these kicked them with violence to disengage themselves, and without remorse trod them under foot."

"At length the Russians advanced in a mass. At the sight of the enemy, the artillery, the baggage waggons, the cavalry and the foot soldiers, all pressed on, contending which should pass first. The strongeat threw into the river those who were weaker, and hindered their passage, or unfeelingly trampled under foot all the sick they found in their way. Many hundreds were crushed to death by the wheels of the cannon. Thousands and thousands of victims, deprived of all hope, threw themselves headlong into the Beresina, and were lost in the waves."

"The division of Girard made its way by force of arms, and climbing over the mountains of dead bodies, gained the other side. The Russians would soon have followed them, if they had not hastened to burn the bridge."

"Then the unhappy beings on the other side of the Beresina abandoned themselves to absolute despair. The destruction was now inevitable; and amidst all their former disasters never were they exposed to, or can imagination conceive, horrors equal to those which encompassed them during that frightful night. The elements let loose, seemed to conspire to afflict

universal nature, and to chastise the ambition and the crimes of man. Lamentable cries and groans alone marked the place of these miserable victims."

"More than 20,000 sick and wounded fell into the hands of the enemy. Two hundred pieces of cannon were abandoned. All the baggage of the two corps which had joined us, was equally the prey of the conquerors."

Dec. 4. "Napoleon, terrified by so many disasters, and still more so by the fear of his losing his authority in France, conceived the idea of abandoning these miserable remains of his army. Tortured by that just terror which always pursues the despot, he imagined that his allies were eager to dissolve the compact which had placed them under his iron yoke. The king of Naples took the command of the army." At Wilna the soldiers were informed of Napoleon's departure. "What, said they among themselves, is it thus he abandons those of whom he styles himself the father?—He who lavished our blood, is he afraid to die with us?"

"The road which we followed presented at every step brave officers covered with rags, supported by branches of pine, their hair and beards stiffened with ice. These warriors who, a short time before, were the terror of our enemies, and the conquerors of two thirds of Europe, having now lost their fine appearance, crawled slowly along, and could scarcely obtain a look from the soldiers whom they had formerly commanded—all who had not strength to march were abandoned. Whenever a soldier, overcome with fatigue, chanced to fall, his next neighbour rushed eagerly upon him, and before he was dead, robbed him of all he possessed, and even of his clothes. Every moment we heard some of these unhappy men crying out for assistance. I conjure you, by every thing which is dear to you, do not abandon me to the enemy? in the name of humanity, grant the little assistance I ask; *help me to rise!* But those who passed, far from being moved by this touching prayer, regarded him as already dead, and immediately began to strip him. We then heard him crying out, '*O help! help! They murder me—they murder me!* Why do you trample upon me? why do you snatch from me my money and my bread, and take from me even my clothes! If some generous officer

did not arrive in time to deliver them, many of these unfortunate beings would be assassinated by their comrades."

"The route was covered with soldiers, who no longer retained the human form, and whom the enemy disdained to make prisoners. Some had lost their hearing, others their speech, and many, by excessive cold and hunger, were reduced to a state of frantic stupidity, in which they *roasted the dead bodies of their comrades for food*, or even *gnawed their own hands and arms !* Some were so weak, that, unable to lift a piece of wood or roll a stone towards the fires which they had kindled, they sat down on the dead bodies of their comrades, and with a haggard countenance steadfastly gazed upon the burning coals.—No sooner was the fire extinguished than these living spectres, unable to rise, fell by the side of those on whom they had sat. We saw many who were absolutely insane. To warm their frozen feet, they plunged them naked into the middle of the fire. Some with a convulsive laugh, threw themselves into the flames and perished in the most horrible convulsions, and uttering the most piercing cries ; while others, equally insane, immediately followed them, and experienced the same fate."

Dec. 11. "We were informed by those who escaped from Wilna that the Russians had entered at day break. A crowd of generals, colonels and officers, and more than 20,000 soldiers, who were detained by weakness, fell into their hands."

Dec. 12. "Exhausted by long and harassing marches, and dying with fatigue, we arrived at Kowno ; where the wrecks of the different corps were reunited. They encamped as usual in the streets, and as we knew that our deplorable situation no longer permitted us to preserve any discipline, we gave up to pillage the magazines which were amply stored. Immediately clothes, corn and rum were every where seen in abundance. Our quarters were filled with broken casks, and the liquor which was spilled formed a little sea in the middle of the public square. The soldiers drank to excess, and more than 2000 of them, completely intoxicated, slept upon the snow. Benumbed with cold, they all perished."

"On the morning of the 13th of December, out of four hundred thousand warriors, who had crossed the Niemen at the opening of the campaign, scarcely 20,000 men repassed it,

of whom at least two thirds had not seen the Kremlin. Arrived at the opposite bank, like ghosts returned from the infernal regions, we fearfully looked behind us, and beheld with horror the savage countries where we had suffered so much."

Labaume belonged to the corps commanded by Beauharnois, the Viceroy of Italy, and he says, "After every research we succeeded in collecting about eight hundred wounded, the miserable remains of 48,000 warriors, all of whom had marched from Italy to Russia."

"Such were the dreadful calamities which annihilated a powerful army, that had rashly undertaken the proudest and most useless of all expeditions. If we look into the annals of antiquity we shall find, that never since the days of Cambyses, did so numerous an army experience such dreadful reverses. Thus were the boastful predictions of Napoleon at the beginning of the campaign literally fulfilled, but with this difference, that not Russia, but himself, *hurried away by a fatality, had accomplished his destiny.*"

BRIEF REMARKS.

In the Russian campaign we have a view of the effects of war on a large scale. It was not a war of "small states in close neighborhood," which Lord Kames censured as "brutal and bloody;" but it was "a war for glory" between two large empires, remote from each other:—Such a war as his lordship styled "the school of every manly virtue," in which "barbarity gives place to magnanimity, and soldiers are converted from brutes into heroes."

Let Christians then reflect on the scenes which have been exhibited, and ask themselves, whether they wish *their children* to be educated in such a "school;" whether such a school is adapted to form disciples of Jesus Christ; and whether robbers and pirates were ever chargeable with more flagrant violations of the principles of reason, religion and humanity.

Let it not be said that the war in Russia was of a peculiar character, that French soldiers are worse than the soldiers of

other nations, or that Napoleon was the worst of all military men.

Wars are generally terrible in proportion to the numbers actually engaged. The same spirit uniformly prevails in war. Similar scenes of havoc and horror, similar outrages and distresses, have been witnessed in other wars, but commonly on a smaller scale. Every war, like that in Russia, is on one side or the other a war of aggression. Every war is carried on by violence, rapine and injustice. The innocent, the aged and infirm—females, old and young, and innocent children, fall a prey to the savage vengeance of unprincipled officers and soldiers. In thousands of instances the soldiers of other nations have conducted as bad, according to their numbers, as the French did at Moscow. The people of invaded territories always complain of the violence and rapacity of invaders; and never have they been without reason for complaint. The cry of "Goths and Vandals!" has been commonly raised, and commonly just.

It may indeed be true, that Napoleon has caused the death of several *millions* of his fellow beings; but this does not prove that he is the worst of military men. He has been more successful than many others, but not more than others have wished to be. Ambition for military fame is insatiable, and never says, "*it is enough.*" Any man who will sacrifice a single life to his own ambition, is brother to Cain, and to Napoleon; and any man who will excite war to advance his own fame or wealth, is brother to the highway robber.

It is proper that we should reflect on the righteous retributions of Providence in the Russian Campaign. After the French army had wantonly massacred the people of Moscow—filling the city with distress, murder and violation—and had loaded themselves with plunder, they were compelled to retreat. But the vengeance of God pursued them, overtook them, and overwhelmed them. Those who had without mercy distressed and destroyed others, perished without mercy. Distressed for food, they were compelled to eat their famished horses; and what is still more revolting, they fed on the flesh of their famished and dead brethren. The sword, the famine and the frost, swept them off by multitudes, till their terrific

army was reduced to a twentieth part of its original number. Such was the terror, frenzy and despair, that they *murdered one another ;* and " thousands and thousands" plunged themselves headlong into the Beresina.

Now, what have the French nation gained by all their wars and conquests since their revolution ? Their wars have been a continual source of misery at home, as well as abroad ; and in their turn they have been inundated, harassed and distressed by foreign troops. Such are the genuine fruits of the war spirit and a thirst for military fame.

The distress of the Russian empire was indeed terrible. But that empire, like others, had been formed by war, and cemented by blood. In past ages the Russians were a ferocious and bloody people. Their invasion of Poland and their storming of Warsaw, were as unjust and cruel, as the conduct of the French towards them. Similar complaints may be brought against all the allied powers.

The people of Great Britain have a tremendous account lying against them. Their history for ages is filled with records of blood. They have indeed become a powerful nation ; but they are in the hands of God, as clay is in the hands of the potter ; and except they repent and abandon the custom of war, their sins will surely find them out. As by war their empire has been widely extended ; so by war it will probably be diminished and overthrown—unless they shall awake to righteousness and adopt the path of peace. Above all other nations they now possess the means of giving peace to the world.—But if they shall refuse to employ their influence for this purpose, their long arrears of blood will probably involve them in ruin. Their pecuniary debt is indeed enormous, but it is as nothing compared with their debt of blood. The *former* may be a means of binding them together for some years to come ; the *latter* is a tremendous millstone about the neck of that nation, from which nothing but *reformation* and *divine mercy* can ever relieve them.

AN ESTIMATE OF HUMAN SACRIFICES IN THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

"*Their feet are swift to shed blood. Destruction and misery are in their ways; and the way of peace have they not known.*" Paul.

If the number of Napoleon's troops which entered Russia during the campaign has not been much overrated, both by the French and the English, it will be a moderate estimate to say that 300,000 of this army perished in Russia.

It is probable that the loss on the part of the Russians, including men, women and children, was at least two thirds as great as the loss of the French and their allies. Therefore, the whole amount of *human sacrifices* in that campaign may be estimated at FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND VICTIMS.

From the time the French crossed the Niemen in June, to the time the survivers recrossed it in December, was 173 days. Admitting the whole number that perished to be 500,000, the average *daily sacrifice* was 2,890; which amounts to 20,230 per week, and more than 80,000 per month. It was equal to 120 every hour, or *two* every minute during the 173 days.

That we may have a more impressive view of this dreadful waste of human life, let the numbers before us be compared with the census of the United States in 1810.

The average *daily sacrifice* exceeds the whole population of Londonderry in N. H. or Haverhill in Mass. or Windsor in Con. or Windsor in Vermont.

The average *weekly sacrifice* would swallow up two such towns as Providence in Rhode-Island; or five such cities as Hartford in Connecticut; and excepting 110 persons, it would be equal to the total in Portsmouth in N. H. Newburyport in Mass. and New-Haven in Connecticut.

The average *monthly sacrifice* exceeds the total of Boston, Providence and Baltimore, by more than 1,000; or the total of the state of Delaware, by more than 1,000; or the total of the state of Rhode-Island, by more than 3,000.

The amount of sacrifice for the 173 days exceeds the whole population of Massachusetts proper, by 27,960:—The total of

New-Hampshire and Connecticut, by 23,698 :—And the total of Maryland and Delaware, by 46,780.

At the rate *human sacrifices* were offered during the campaign, the whole population of the United States would be swallowed up in fourteen years.

Let the reader now pause, reflect, and ask himself this question, *Does the christian religion require, or justify, or warrant such* SAVAGE SACRIFICES?

"THOU THAT TEACHEST ANOTHER, TEACHEST THOU NOT THYSELF?"

One of the avowed objects of Foreign Missions, both in Great Britain and the United States, is the abolition of *human sacrifices* among the Pagans. But the Bramins of India may defy all the clergy of Christendom to name a single custom among the heathen, which is more abominable or more anti-christian than that of public war; or one by which more human beings are wantonly and foolishly sacrificed.

There is not, we may boldly affirm, a single custom among the pagans of the east or the west, which is more repugnant to the precepts and the spirit of the christian religion. Nor is there one error which implies more dishonourable and unworthy conceptions of our heavenly Father, than to suppose that he can be pleased to see the professed followers of his Son thus wantonly butchering one another. If God were in very deed of such a blood-thirsty character, that he could delight in the *human sacrifices* offered by warring christians, we should have little reason to be concerned about the sanguinary errors of the pagans.

But are these remarks made from a spirit of hostility to Foreign Missions? GOD FORBID. But while we rejoice to see benevolent exertions in favour of the Pagans of India we wish to see more evidence that Christians are not perfectly blind to the sanguinary error which has so long been popular among themselves.

What should we think if a number of Bramins should be sent from India, to convert us from our custom of offering *human sacrifices*, and to preach to us the more excellent way? Should we not advise them to attempt a reformation at home? Should we hesitate to tell them, that they would stand on much

fairer ground to convert us, if they could show that their religion or their efforts had effected the abolition of human sacrifices among their own people ?

Does it not behove us to reflect on the striking contrast between those sacrifices which we wish to abolish among the pagans, and those which are offered by christians ? It is not from a war spirit that the parent in India casts his living child into the Ganges; or that the widow burns on the funeral pile of her deceased husband; or that others prostrate themselves to be crushed to death by the idol's car. We may indeed justly deplore these delusions, and attempt their abolition; but as these sacrifices are not made from ill will towards fellow beings, must they not be far less offensive in the sight of God, than the war sacrifices of christian nations ?

It is also to be considered that the pagans have not had the benevolent precepts of the Prince of peace for their guide.— But christians have the word of life, that requires a temper with which it is impossible for them to fight and destroy one another.

How exceedingly blind then must those christians be, who feel a tender concern on account of the human sacrifices offered by the heathen ; and yet feel no concern on account of a custom among themselves, which is far more *criminal* and *dangerous !*

Let us then first cast the beam out of our own eyes, that we may see more clearly how to pluck the mote out of the eyes of our pagan brethren. Let us first reduce our gospel to practice, and thus prove its excellency ; then we shall stand on fair ground to proclaim the glad tidings to the pagan world. In this particular it seems to be very suitable, that our charity should begin at home ; that we should cleanse first that which is within ourselves. For is it not shocking that at the very moment we are sending missionaries to India to abolish human sacrifices, our own garments are stained, and our hands reeking with the blood of our brethren slain in war ?*

* It is *not* believed that those in favour of missions have been more in favour of war than other people. But it is devoutly to be wished that their exertions may not only be encouraged, but made the occasion of convinc-

How would duellists appear on such a mission, who have themselves been principals, seconds, or abettors in murderous combats? and who still retain the sanguinary errors of gentlemen of honour! What christian would not be shocked to see such blindness? But just such blindness may be seen, by those who are not themselves blind, whenever they see persons at the same time advocates for war and foreign missions. For war and duelling are of the *same nature*, are supported on the *same principles*, and imply the *same spirit*. They are equally hostile to the self-denying maxims of the gospel, and to the temper of him who brought life and immortality to light. The principal difference between the two customs is this—war at present is the most popular: and of course it is more destructive, as it is regarded as less criminal.

Mr. Clarkson in his history of the abolition of the slave trade—while speaking of the committee formed to bring about that event—has the following remark:—"A committee, which, laboring afterwards with Mr. Wilberforce as a parliamentary head, did, under Providence, in the space of 20 years, contribute to put an end to a trade which, measuring its magnitude by its crimes and sufferings, was the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted the human race."

Had this celebrated philanthropist but seriously compared the slave trade with the custom of war, would it have been *possible* for him to have made this representation?—The slave trade was indeed an enormous "practical evil." It sacrificed human beings and human happiness at a dreadful rate. But war is as unjust and inhuman as the slave trade; it is far more extensive in "its crimes and sufferings," and it actual-

ing every class of Christians of the importance of doing something at home as well as abroad. This is the only object of bringing foreign missions to view in this connexion.

May we not indulge the hope that no missionaries will henceforth be sent from this country among the heathen, without having their own minds deeply imbued with the *principles* and the *spirit* of peace? These are the very essence of the gospel which they should preach; and on no other subject should they be more faithfully examined or more fully informed. For whatever other qualifications they may possess, without these they will never thoroughly preach the gospel, but will be constantly exposed to self-contradiction.

ly destroys a much greater number of lives. As largely as the people of Great Britain were concerned in the slave trade, it cannot be doubted that the wars of that nation have destroyed and afflicted twenty times the number of human beings that were destroyed and afflicted by them in the African commerce.

Of the *war trade* we may safely affirm—without fear of its being contradicted by future inquiries—that it is the "greatest practical evil," that has ever been popular among men.—"Measuring its magnitude by its crimes and sufferings," it is the grossest delusion, the most dreadful scourge, and the greatest curse that ever afflicted the race of Adam. Yet to this diabolical and sanguinary *monster* the greater portion of the human family pay homage and afford support. It is true that many of them pay this homage on the same principle that the Banians worshipped the devil—that is, through fear that he would do them mischief. But alas! how many pay this homage in a voluntary manner, and even imagine that in so doing they please the Father of mercies! By this delusion it is probable that more human beings have been sacrificed, than twice the present population of the whole world.

Had all the blood that has been shed in war been collected into one body and preserved in a liquid state, it would have composed a sea of no inconsiderable magnitude. But still war has its advocates, not only among Pagans and Mahometans, but even among the professed disciples of the benevolent Messiah.

Nay, have not many ministers of the Prince of peace—and some of the most eminent men for learning and piety—been so bewildered by the popularity of war, as to lend their names, their talents and their influence, to give celebrity to this most fatal of all delusions! Have they not in one breath justly extolled christianity, as prohibiting all injustice, revenge and every species of cruelty—as requiring of all its votaries the spirit of meekness, forbearance, forgiveness and universal good will? In another breath, have they not justified the custom of war, which involves all the vices and crimes that the gospel forbids, and sets at nought every virtue which the gospel requires? While on the one hand they have exhibited

the mild and benignant character of our Saviour, as worthy of universal esteem and imitation; have they not on the other, eulogised the characters and destructive exploits of military men, whose temper and conduct formed a perfect contrast to what they had commended in the Prince of life? And of men too who had nothing to recommend them but the display of eminent talents in spreading desolation, death and wo among their brethren!

Can the language of truth give to this picture of inconsistency a still higher colouring? Let facts speak for themselves. How many thousands in every christian country—after having been to the table of the Lord to commemorate his wonderful love to mankind—have gone to the table of wanton festivity, to celebrate victories which have been obtained by the inhuman slaughter of thousands, for whom the Saviour died!

"Christ suffered for us, leaving us an EXAMPLE, that we should FOLLOW HIS STEPS:" But how many have gone from the memorials of his self-denying benevolence to the field of battle, to show *how bravely* they could kill those for whom he laid down his life!

To the reproach of the Israelites in the wilderness it is written, "The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play." May it not with equal truth be written of thousands of professed Christians, "The people sat down to eat and to drink" the memorials of redeeming love, "and rose up to" FIGHT!

To what part of the pagan world shall we look for delusions more awful than these? Have such christians regarded the temper with which the Saviour died for us, as an *example* for them to imitate? Does it not appear more probable that they considered his blood as shed to procure a license for his followers to slaughter one another with impunity!

But I must forbear. Enough, *enough* has been brought to view to fill every feeling christian with amazement and grief. Let it not however be imagined that these remarks have been made, to cast reproach on christianity, or its friends. This is not their object; and christianity is no more answerable for the wars of Christians, than the laws of the state are for the

instances of robbery and murder, by which they are violated. The object has been to lead all christians to reflect on the awful apostacy from christian principles, and to awaken in all a spirit of inquiry and reformation.

Most certainly it has been an unpleasant task thus to expose the inconsistencies of christians, and to make such comparisons between their delusions and those of the heathen.—But the palpable darkness relating to war, which has for ages overspread the christian world, and the strong prepossessions which still exist in its favour, have rendered it needful to strip the custom of its delusive glories, and to display its crimes and horrors in the clearest light.

Those who now read the history of the times, called "The dark ages," are astonished at the blindness which then prevailed. But let it no longer be supposed that the *dark ages* have terminated, or that they ever will close, so long as the most dreadful of all delusions retains its popularity in Christendom. So long as the predominant influence in Christendom shall be in favour of war, "darkness will cover the earth and gross darkness the people."

Future generations will be astonished at the blindness of those christians who now call themselves a *reformed* and *enlightened* people; while, like savages, they encourage war and shed each other's blood. Will they not also be amazed to read the reproaches cast on the ancient heathen for their "hecatombs of oxen" sacrificed to blood-thirsty deities, while among ourselves a custom is popular, by which not merely *oxen*, but HUMAN VICTIMS, are sacrificed by HECATOMBS, by THOUSANDS, and even by MYRIADS!

———"My ear is pain'd,
My soul is sick with every day's report
Of wrong and outrage with which earth is filled.
There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart,
It does not feel for man.———
Then what is man? And what man seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush
And hang his head, to think himself a man."

COWPER.

ON ESTIMATING THE CHARACTERS OF MEN WHO HAVE BEEN CONCERNED IN SANGUINARY CUSTOMS.

In forming an estimate of a human character, whether ancient or modern, some respect should be had to the age and country in which a man lived, to the light that then and there prevailed, to the opinions and customs which he was taught to regard as sacred or popular, to the situations in which he was called to act, and to the advantages or the disadvantages which attended him in respect to obtaining correct ideas, or of rising above popular errors or delusions.

Something like what has now been stated, has long been my opinion. In this opinion I have been more and more confirmed, and the importance of it I have more and more felt, in consequence of reflecting on the subject of war, and the evidence which exists, that many, who in other respects are to be numbered among the most pious, benevolent, learned and useful men, have been so carried away by the current of popular delusion, as to be directly or indirectly supporters of the most destructive of all sanguinary customs.

If all who have been abettors of the injustice, the cruelties, the robberies, the homicides and the murders committed in war, were to be struck from the list of good men; *how few* of our ancestors or of our cotemporaries would find their names in the book of life!

To censure an *opinion* or a *custom* as hostile to christianity, is *one thing*; to censure *all* as *ungodly men* who have been its advocates, or who have been deluded by it, is *another*.—The former I own I have done with great plainness, and perhaps with some severity; the *latter* is a fault which I hope will never be found in any writings which may justly be imputed to me.

The principle which has now been avowed, seems to have been adopted by many persons of different sects, in speaking of some who lived in the ages of *persecution*; and those who are now most averse to adopting it, will perhaps, in a future day, be found to need its candor as much as other people.

To prove that an opinion is erroneous, or that a custom is

pernicious and inhuman, it is by no means necessary to prove or to insinuate, that all who have been thus misled have been destitute of piety or goodness. Every man, whether good or bad, is liable to be influenced by the customs of the age and country in which he receives his education.

"How custom steels the human breast,
To deeds which nature's thoughts detest!
How custom consecrates to fame,
What reason else would give to shame."

JOHN SCOTT.

A SOLEMN APPEAL TO THE CONSCIENCES OF PROFESSED CHRISTIANS.

"*The prudent man foreseeth the evil and hideth himself; but the simple pass on and are punished.*" Solomon.

MY BRETHREN,

IN view of the crimes and horrors of the Russian campaign, suffer an appeal to your consciences and feelings, as to professed disciples of Him who loved us; and who died the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God.

First. On the supposition that we had made no profession of regard to the Saviour of men, on what possible ground could we justify the horrible carnage and desolation made by war? Can they be justified on the principles of reason and humanity? If men may be justified in such conduct one towards another, why should we attempt to support any distinction between right and wrong, or virtue and vice? Was there ever conduct more unjust and inhuman, or scenes more revolting to a benovolent mind, than those witnessed in the wars of christian nations?

Second. We are *professedly* the *disciples* of the PRINCE OF PEACE. How is it possible to reconcile the crimes of war to his precepts or his example? Has he not expressly said to his followers, "Love your enemies;" "forgive and ye shall be forgiven;" "learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart?" And did he not love *his* enemies? Did he not pray for them with his dying breath? Has he left us any example which in the least degree justifies or countenances the war

spirit? Do christians learn of him to make war on each other, or to revenge the injuries they receive? He went about doing good. Is the same mind in those who, as roaring lions, go about seeking whom they may devour? Is it possible to form in our own minds a more perfect contrast, than is to be seen between the spirit of our Saviour and the spirit of war, violence and revenge? The moral nature of war is the same, whether it be carried on by Frenchmen, Russians, Englishmen or Americans. It is the same, whether it be carried on by Christians, Mahometans, Pagans or Devils. It is the reverse of that spirit which is required of us, and not less so when men are led on to this work of destruction by an emperor or a king, than when they are led by the captain of a band of robbers; for an emperor or a king has no more right to make war on his fellow creatures, than any other man. Barbarossa had as good a right to make war on his fellow men, when as a pirate he infested the seas, as he had when he became king of Algiers. Nor was he less a *murderer* when he made war as a king, than when he made war as a captain of a piratical band.

As it is absolutely impossible to make war in obedience to the precepts of Christ, or in conformity to his example, shall we who profess to be his friends and disciples, any longer countenance a custom which cannot possibly exist but by inhumanity, injustice, revenge, violence and murder?*

Shall we any longer imagine that our religion can justify, or our safety require, the continuance of a custom which thus deludes and destroys mankind; which exposes the people of every country to the most distressing calamities, and which has converted Christendom into a vast slaughterhouse for human butchery?

Is it not an undeniable truth, that the greater the number is in any nation, who are of a pacific character—and who are in temper and principle opposed to war—the greater is the safety of that community, and of the individuals of which it is

*I use the word *murder* in relation to war, because each of the parties in war very justly apply it to the conduct of the other. Labaume applies it even to the conduct of the army to which he belonged, and that too with perfect propriety.

composed ? On the contrary, is it not equally evident that the more there are in any community who indulge and cultivate a passion for war, the greater is the danger ? So long as the custom of war shall be popular, and the passion for war shall be considered as honourable, so long it will be in the power of ambitious men to disturb the peace of the world.

Third. What, my brethren, has our nation to expect if the popularity of war shall be continued ? Our numbers are rapidly increasing, and probably it will not be fifty years, perhaps not ten, before there will be a convulsion in the United States, and one part of the citizens armed against the other for mutual havoc and destruction. Party spirit already exists in the land—This is ever of a jealous and delusive nature. Those who are under its influence are not very apt to study the things that make for peace, nor very slow to invent pretexts for violent meaures.

Should there be a rupture in these States, the miseries and desolations of the Russian campaign will probably be forgotten in the contemplation of still more distressing scenes in our own country. The horrors of Smolensko, Borodino, Moscow and Beresina, may be repeated in our land. The conflagration of our cities may afford light for massacring the helpless inhabitants—for the plundering of property—for the discovery of females who shall fall victims to the brutal lusts of ferocious officers and soldiers. Those inhabitants who may escape the sword, may perish by famine, or be compelled by hunger to roast and eat the dead bodies of their brethren.—The progress of the successful army may be marked by the most shocking scenes of devastation, misery and blood. Extensive fields of battle may be covered with the dead bodies of our children, our grand children and friends. The highways and the passes of rivers may present huge heaps of corpses, piled one upon another. The dead, the wounded, the sick and the dying may be promiscuously trodden under foot by beasts and men, and crushed by the wheels of cannon and other carriages. And the whole land may be filled with mourning, lamentation and wo.

In reference to such a day the words of Moses to the people of Israel may be applied : "The Lord shall give thee

there a trembling heart and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind. And thy life shall hang in doubt, and thou shalt fear day and night, and shall have no assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, Would God it were evening! and in the evening, Would God it were morning! for the fear of thine heart which thou shalt fear, and for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see."

Then at the close of a long and bloody war, the surviving inhabitants of the land may find themselves in a seven fold worse situation than either party was at the commencement of the war—excepting a few successful chiefs who shall have enriched themselves by the spoils of their murdered brethren.—But these chiefs will probably claim to be honoured as the *saviours* of the country, which they have desolated and dressed in mourning. The aged parent, whose sons have been massacred and whose daughters have been violated—the poor widow, who has lost both her husband and her sons—and the orphan, who has been bereaved of father and mother, may have to pay homage and tribute to a set of unfeeling, blood thirsty tyrants, whose hearts shall have been steeled by serving an apprenticeship in the work of destroying their fellowmen.

Should such a convulsion take place, multitudes who have lived together as brethren and friends, who have worshipped together in the same house, and united in commemorating the sufferings of a benevolent Saviour, will probably become the murderers of each other. Thousands and thousands who are now the advocates of war, may perish in the most terrible manner, by the very custom which they uphold. By the same custom their children, who shall survive the desolations of war, may be reduced to the most degrading servitude; while some who now sustain good characters may become the hardened wretches who shall riot on the spoils of the slain, and rule the land as ferocious tyrants.

Say not, my brethren, that such scenes in our country are beyond the bounds of possibility. They are not only *possible*, but very *probable*, on the supposition that the spirit of party and of war shall continue to be cultivated among us. And alas! how righteous will be such a retribution in regard to

those who so far depart from the precepts of our religion, and the example of our Lord, as to give support to the popularity of war! If any of us should countenance highway robbery, would it be unrighteous with God to suffer us to fall victims to the custom we had approved? But war is in every respect as repugnant to the spirit of the gospel, as highway robbery; and it is as much worse, as it is more delusive and fatal.

Do your feelings revolt at the thought of having the horrors of the Russian campaign repeated in our country? Why then will any of you lend your influence in support of a custom which naturally involves such scenes of guilt and wo? Why will you applaud the deeds of deluded and bloody men, and thus teach your children to esteem as honourable, successful violence, robbery and manslaughter? Let a proper abhorrence of the guilty custom be excited, and its havoc and its horrors will cease.

It is not, however, wished that you should treat military men with contempt or disrespect. This is not the way to convince men of error, but the direct way to inflame their passions, to confirm their prejudices, and to close their eyes against the light. Let our own minds be imbued with the spirit of the gospel, let our conversation in all respects comport with its benevolent precepts, let us treat military men with that respect and tenderness which becomes us as christians; and then we may hope for access to their understandings and their hearts. Many of them perhaps will rejoice in being convinced of their error, and cordially unite their efforts to extend the light and to open the eyes of others.

Shall it be imagined that the *day of evil* can be avoided by powerful armaments and a passion for military fame? Are these the means of peace and safety? Are they not the means of war and danger? Let the history of nations, ancient and modern, answer the questions, and will it not say, that such means have hitherto operated as *provocations* and *incentives* to actual hostilities?

According to what we sow we may expect to reap. If we sow the seeds and cultivate the spirit of war, the horrible fruits of war will be our harvest. But if we sow the seeds of

peace and cultivate the spirit of the gospel, we may expect the fruits of peace in this world, and the blessedness of peace-makers in the world to come.

God has graciously given us an interval of peace, an opportunity for reflection and exertion. Shall we conduct as though nothing were incumbent on us but to prepare for future wars, future devotion to Mahometan principles, and future sacrifices of *human victims?* Or shall we, as becomes christians, attend to the things which belong to our own peace, to the peace of our children, and the peace of the world?

By what doctrine is christianity more distinguished from Mahometanism, than by that of "PEACE ON EARTH, and GOOD WILL TO MEN?" By what precepts is it more distinguished, than by those which enjoin the spirit of *humility*, *meekness*, *forbearance*, *forgiveness*, and *love to enemies?* Shall then the ambassadors of Christ forbear to inculcate, in its full extent, the distinguishing spirit of the religion they profess? Shall they in any manner support a custom, which cannot exist for a moment but by a direct violation of gospel principles?—Shall they suffer their hearers to be so deluded, as to think they are following the Messiah, while in fact they are following Mahomet?

Shall christian parents neglect to teach their children the radical difference between the spirit of the gospel and the spirit of war? And shall the want of fidelity on the part of ministers and parents, expose our country to the desolations, the crimes and the horrors of a Russian campaign! AT WHOSE HANDS THEN WILL THE BLOOD BE REQUIRED?

To avoid guilt so awful and calamities so distressing, shall not christians of every name lay aside all party bitterness and alienation, subordinate every inferior topic and consideration, and unite as brethren, as children of the same merciful Father, and as disciples of the benevolent Prince of peace? Let us obey the affectionate exhortation of the Apostle;—"Put on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercies, humbleness of mind, meekness, long suffering—forbearing one another and forgiving one another. If any man have a quarrel against any, even as God for Christ's sake forgave you, so also do ye. And above all these things put on chari-

ity, which is the bond of perfectness, and let the PEACE OF GOD RULE IN YOUR HEARTS."

In this way more might be done in one year to promote the cause of real religion, to advance and secure the happiness of our country, than has ever yet been done in the course of a century; and more than ever will be done by the spirit of contention and the mostformidable preparations for war. In this way christianity would appear in its true light! the reproach of its being of a sanguinary character would be removed; the doubts of many unbelievers would be solved; our children would be trained up in the way they should go; God would bless and protect us, and peace and salvation would fill the land.

Objection.

"Twere well, could you permit the world to live
As the world pleases. What's the world to you?

Answer.

"Much. I was born of woman——
———Nor can I rest
A silent witness of the headlong rage
Of heedless folly, by which thousands die,
Bone of my bone, and kindred souls to mine."

COWPER.

A MEMORABLE AND AFFECTING CONTRAST.

IN two former publications, some of the facts were briefly stated which are now to be more fully exhibited. This account will be abridged from the writings of Mr. Clarkson, whose efforts in the cause of humanity will long be remembered with gratitude.

"I apprehend, says Mr. Clarkson, that men as ferocious as any recorded in history, were those found in America, when that continent was discovered. We hear nothing of Africans, or of Asiatics, which would induce us to suppose, that they were as wild and barbarous as these. I shall therefore take these for an example, and show by the opposite conduct of two different communities towards them, that it rests with men to live peaceably or not, as they cultivate the disposition

to do it, or as they follow the policy of the gospel in preference to the policy of the world.

"When the English, Dutch, and others, began to people America, they purchased land of the natives. But when they went to that continent, they went with the notions of worldly policy, and did not take with them the Christian wisdom of the unlawfulness of war. They acted on the system of preparation, because there might be danger. They never settled without palisadoes and a fort. They kept nightly watches, though unmolested. They were, in short, in the midst of war, though no injury had been offered them by the natives, and though professedly in the midst of peace.

"In the peopling of Connecticut it was ordered by an English court 'held at Dorchester on the 7th day of June, 1736, that every town should keep a watch and be well supplied with ammunition.—Their circumstances were such that it was judged necessary that every man should be a soldier.'

Trumbull's History of Con. p. 56.

"Previous to the order of the court at Dorchester, some of the settlers had been killed by the natives. The provocation which the natives received is not mentioned. But it was probably provocation enough to savage Indians, to see people settle in their country with all the signs and symptoms of war. They could see that these settlers had at least no objection to the use of arms; that these arms could never be intended but against other persons, and there were no other persons but themselves. Judging therefore by outward circumstances, they could draw no inference of a peaceable disposition in their new neighbors.

"War soon followed. The Pequots were attacked. Prisoners were made on both sides. The Indians treated barbarously those who fell into their hands; for on the capture of their own countrymen they did not see any better usage on the part of the settlers themselves.

"'Though,' says Trumbull, 'the first planters of New-England were men of eminent piety and strict morals, yet like other good men they were subject to misconception and the influence of passion. Their *beheading sachems* whom they took in war, *killing the male captives* and *enslaving the women*

and children, was treating them with a severity, which, on the benevolent principles of christianity it will be difficult to justify.' Ibid. p. 112.

"After this treatment, war followed war. As other settlements were made on the same principles, war fell to their portion likewise. And the whole history of the settlements of America, where these principles were followed, is full of the wars between the settlers and the Indians, which have continued more or less nearly up to the present day.

NOW BEHOLD THE CONTRAST!

"But widely different was the situation of the settlers under William Penn. They had to deal with the same savage Indians as the other settlers. They had the same fury to guard against, and were in a situation much more exposed; for they had neither sword nor musket, palisado nor fort.—They adopted the policy of the gospel, instead of the policy of the world. They judged it neither necessary to watch nor to be provided with ammunition, nor to become soldiers. They spoke the language of peace to the natives, and proved the sincerity of their language by continuing in a defenceless condition. They held out also that all wars were unlawful, and that whatever injuries were offered them, they would sooner bear them, than gratify the principle of revenge.

"It is quite needless to go farther into the system of this venerable founder of Pennsylvania. But it may be observed, *that no quaker settlers, when known to be such, were killed*, and whatever attacks were made upon the possessors of lands in their neighborhood, none was ever made upon those who settled on the lands purchased by William Penn.

"It may not be improper to observe farther, that the harmonious intercourse between the Quakers and the Indians continues uninterrupted to the present day. In matters of great and public concern, it has been usual with the Indians to send deputies to the Quakers for advice, and the former have even been persuaded by the latter to relinquish wars, which they had it in contemplation to undertake. It is also usual for some of these to send their children to the Quakers for education.

"These facts, when contrasted, speak for themselves. A cabinet of Quaker ministers, acting on the policy of the gospel, has been seated in the heart of a savage and warlike nation, and peace has ever been kept with them. A cabinet of other settlers, acting on the policy of the world, has been seated in the heart of nations of a similar description, and they have almost constantly been embroiled in wars."

Portraiture, vol. iii. from p. 81 to 87.

In view of this contrast Mr. Clarkson has some just and forcible remarks; a few of which will be quoted:—

"If Christian policy has had its influence upon barbarians, it would be libellous to say, that it would not have its influence upon those who profess to be Christians. Let us then, from the instances which have been now recited, deprecate the necessity of wars. Let us not think so meanly of the Christian religion as that it does not *forbid*, nor so meanly of its power, as that it is not able to prevent their continuance" p. 87.

"If the cabinet of any one powerful nation were to act upon the noble principle of relinquishing war, why should we think the other cabinets so lost to all good feelings, as not to respect its virtues? Let us abandon this thought; for the supposition of a contrary sentiment would make them worse than the savages I have mentioned.

"Let us then cherish the fond hope that human animosities are not to be eternal; and that man is not always to be made a tiger to man. Let us hope that the government of some one nation will set the example of a total dereliction of wars. And let us all in our respective situations precede the anticipated blessing, by holding out the necessity of the subjugation of the passions, and by inculcating the doctrine of universal benevolence to man." p. 94.

To the remarks of Mr. Clarkson a few words may be subjoined; and then the whole will be submitted to the conscience of every reflecting Christian.

In the contrast before us, we behold courage and heroism of two different kinds. On the one hand we see—surrounded by ferocious savages, a class of men assuming the most hostile attitude, armed with weapons of death, quick to resent, ready to fight and brave in battle—but ever on the watch by day and

night, and frequently in a state of alarm, anxiety, or hostility. On the other hand we see—surrounded in like manner by blood thirsty savages—another class of men, as sheep among wolves, without arms or any hostile preparations, openly avowing principles which forbid them to kill even in self-defence; yet, placing their hope in God, and in the influence of their pacific spirit, they pursue by day their lawful occupations without anxiety, and by night they sleep without sentinels and without alarm.

Now which of these two classes of men displayed the most undaunted fortitude and genuine heroism? and which bore the greatest resemblance to the Prince of peace?

One man is so perpetually in *fear* of being killed or robbed, that he always goes armed with *pistols* and a *long knife*. Another, who is exposed to the same external dangers, calmly pursues his business, without any weapon of death for his defence;—Which of these is the greatest *coward?* And which of them walks even as Christ walked?

A proper answer to these questions will probably lead to this conclusion, that it is rather sinful cowardice than christian fortitude, which induces men to arm themselves one against another.

NOTICE OF COMMUNICATIONS.

After a considerable part of this Number had been printed, and arrangements had been made to complete it, some communications were received, with a respectful request that they might be inserted. One is a copy of a Petition to the Legislature of this Commonwealth, signed by ten persons, requesting such an alteration in the militia laws, that not only the Friends and the Shakers, but all who believe with them that war is inconsistent with the precepts of Christ, may be exempted from bearing arms contrary to the convictions of their own minds. The other purports to be a *defence* of the opinions of the petitioners, which has been presented to the honourable Committee of the Legislature to whom the Petition had been referred.

Although it is not convenient to publish these communications in this Number, it may not be improper to express a hope that, on both sides, the subject will be attended to in the true spirit of peace. The future tranquility of the state is perhaps more intimately connected with the manner in which that subject shall be treated than many would at first imagine. We are not to expect that a revolution in public opinion will be instantaneously effected; and, in the present case, it is certainly desirable that no means should be used but those of a pacific character.

The writer of this has been advised to suggest to those who sent the communications, the expediency of publishing them as a small tract by themselves.

From a Philadelphia Paper.

WAR!

"When drawn by Wisdom's awful pen,
We view the attendant ills of War,
And all the long succeeding train,
That haunt his footsteps from afar,

How vain appear the laurelled wreaths,
Where honour's incense freely breathes;
As the red Comet fades away,
Before the radiant eye of day!

Oh, never may my soul be led,
Fired by illusive deeds of glory,
To love the path those heroes tread,
Who fill with deeds of blood their story.

For War, whatever vain disguise,
Conceal its horrors from our eyes,
Is born of guilt, and fraught with woe,
And crimes and death to men below."

THE FRIEND OF PEACE.

No. IV.

Seventh American Edition.

REASONS FOR BELIEVING THAT EFFORTS FOR THE ABOLITION OF WAR WILL NOT BE IN VAIN.

Introduction and Preliminary Remarks.

WHEN an object is proposed, which appears benevolent, desirable, and of vast magnitude, the question immediately occurs, —*Is it attainable?* Is there any probability that human exertions for its accomplishment will be crowned with success?

It has been distinctly represented to the writer of this work, that people in general, who have read the "Solemn Review," and the preceding Numbers of the Friend of Peace, are very ready to admit the correctness of the sentiments, as to the inhumanity, injustice, and antichristian nature of war; and the pernicious, uncertain, and dreadful character of the custom, considered as a method of securing rights, or of obtaining redress for wrongs. It is also admitted, that the abolition of war would be a benevolent and glorious object of pursuit, if there were any satisfactory reasons for supposing, that exertions would be of any avail. But to many, it is said, the project appears of a desperate and Utopian character—as hopeless, as would be an attempt to abolish disease and death. It has therefore been requested of me, to state more fully the reasons for believing that efforts for the abolition of war will not be in vain.

On this point several things have been suggested in the "Solemn Review," and in the second Number of this work; yet as this seems to be the only point which labors in the minds of many, it may be useful to give it a more ample discussion. I

must, however, request the reader's attention to the following preliminary remarks:—

I. In all that will be said on the probability of success, or the utility of human exertions, this idea is to be constantly understood,—that "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it;" and "Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain." For no idea is entertained by me, that human exertions can be of any avail for the abolition of war, but by the blessing and energy of God. Yet I believe, that he, "who worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will," makes use of human agents for the accomplishment of his benevolent designs.

II. It is not imagined, that the abolition of war is to be *instantaneously* effected. It must probably require many years, and perhaps several ages, of faithful and persevering exertions, to accomplish in full the object proposed. Those who are now engaged in the work may have rested from their labors long before the glorious event will take place. But the seed, which they shall have sown, may spring up, and yield a rich harvest of blessings to their posterity.

III. All who are convinced of the truth of what has been published on the crimes and miseries of war, should consider, that a *possibility* of success must confer an obligation on *them*, to do what they can for its abolition. If a man is already convinced, that war has its very *existence in sin*, and that its genuine fruits are *desolation and misery*, how can he rest contented, to see such a custom idolized by his fellow men, as necessary, justifiable, and glorious!

IV. Let it be remembered, that the charge of a "*chimerical* project," or "Utopian scheme," has been uniformly made against the first efforts for the abolition of any popular custom; yet many such attempts have succeeded, to the astonishment and joy of those who once regarded them as fit subjects of ridicule. There was a time when the present modes of treating a *fever* or the *small pox* would have been regarded as little better than attempts to *murder the diseased.*

On this point I would solicit the reader's attention to some extracts from a letter of Dr. Rush, to George Clymer, Esq. "on the amusements and punishments proper for schools."

"I know," says the Dr. "how apt mankind are to brand every proposition for innovation, as visionary and Utopian. But good men should not be discouraged by such epithets, from their attempts to combat vice and error. There never was an improvement in any art or science, nor a proposal for meliorating the condition of man, in any age or country, that has not been considered in the light of what has been called an *Utopian scheme.*

"The application of the magnet to navigation, and of steam to mechanical purposes, have both been branded as Utopian projects. The great idea of Columbus, of exploring a new world, was long viewed in most of the courts of Europe, as the dream of a visionary sailor.

"You and I recollect the time when the abolition of negro slavery in our state—as also when the independence of the United States, and the present wise and happy confederation of our republics, were all considered by many of our sober, prudent men, as subjects of an Utopian nature.

"For the benefit of those persons who consider opinions as improved, like certain liquors, by time; and who are opposed to innovations, only because they did not occur to our ancestors; I shall conclude my letter with an anecdote of a minister in London, who after employing a long sermon, in controverting what he supposed to be an heretical opinion, concluded it with the following words:—'I tell you, I tell you, my brethren, I tell you again, that an *old error* is *better* than a *new truth.*'"

Such has been the pernicious influence of prepossession in every age; and yet how many of the present time are unwilling to learn either wisdom or caution, by the manifest mistakes and imprudences of their ancestors. Had there been no improvements made in human opinions and customs, in opposition to the cry of heresy and Utopian projects, the present inhabitants of Great Britain and of the United States, would have been both *pagans* and *savages.* Happy would be the result, if these unquestionable facts should have so much influence as to dispose people in future, *first to examine impartially,* and *then judge.*

Having made these preliminary remarks, I shall now state some of the reasons, which have led me to believe, that well conducted efforts for the abolition of war, will be useful.

First Reason.

Many customs, which were once popular, have been abolished. There was a time when men could acquire renown by being forward to detect, expose, and burn reputed heretics. But now such conduct appears antichristian and murderous.

There was a time when it was thought to be a glorious thing to propagate the gospel by the sword; and to murder one part of a pagan people, to compel the other to be baptized, and to profess a religion of which they were totally ignorant. Professed ministers of the Christian religion could acquire glory, by marching at the head of an army, with the *gospel of peace* in one hand, and the *sword of war* in the other; and if the sword proved successful, the conquest was regarded as a *triumph of the cross.* Such a minister at this day would be regarded as a *madman!*

During two centuries, the rulers and the clergy of Europe were as raving as the residents of Bedlam, with the *Crusade fever.* The impious expeditions against the Mahometans as infidels, were dignified by the name of "*holy wars;*" and to engage in them was deemed the most certain road to heaven. Under the influence of this spirit of infatuation, millions of Europeans rushed into Asia and found their graves; and millions of the people of Asia perished by the hands of these deluded fanatics, or Christian barbarians.

The custom of *private wars* among the noblemen of Europe, under the feudal system, was once so prevalent that it threatened the depopulation of the country; and it was continued so long, that it was regarded by the barons as a *natural right.* The first attempts to abolish the custom were resisted, as attempts to *infringe* their natural rights. But at length the custom became so fatal and so distressing, that the barons themselves were induced to form an association to abolish it, by referring their disputes to the majority of the associates.

The *judicial combat* was also a popular custom in former ages, and it swept off deluded mortals at a dreadful rate.

Killing captives taken in war, or reducing them to slavery, was, for ages, a general custom. It was also a custom among

our ancestors in Great Britain, for poor people to *sell their children*, and even *themselves*, into a state of *slavery*. In a speech of Mr. Wilberforce in the British parliament, on the abolition of the slave trade, we find the following declarations—"Europe, three or four centuries ago, was in many parts as barbarous as Africa at present, and chargeable with as bad practices—The people of Bristol in the reign of Henry VII. had a *regular market for children*, which were *bought by the Irish*"* *History of Abolition*, vol. ii. p. 53.

In still later times the abominable commerce, called the African slave trade, was popular both in Europe and in this country.

In addition to all these things, it would be easy to mention many laws, that were once popular among our ancestors on each side of the Atlantic, which are so detestable and sanguinary, that it would fill any benevolent mind, at this day, with horror to read them.

It may now be proper to ask, By what means have those inhuman laws and customs been abolished? Have these instances of abolition been effected by a series of miracles? God indeed has done all these things; but the events were produced by the instrumentality of enlightened men. It was gradually discovered that such laws and customs were not only unnecessary, but antichristian. Their inhumanity was exposed, and they gradually fell into disrepute, lingered a while, and then *died*.

But in its days of popularity, each of these customs was probably supported by arguments as plausible and as conclusive, as those which are now employed in support of war.

The numerous instances of abolition which have occurred, clearly show that it is *possible* to abolish a popular custom; and that there is ground to hope that public war will yet be

* Mr Wilberforce tells us how this barbarous custom happened to be abolished. The Irish, "having experienced a general calamity, which they imputed as a judgment from heaven, on account of this wicked traffic, abolished it." Mr. Wilberforce solicited the parliament to "show, that they were as *enlightened* as the Irish were four centuries back, by refusing to buy the children of other nations."

numbered with other exploded customs. Our ancestors did much to encourage our exertions. Let us do what we can; and hope that the next generation will take hold of the work where we shall have left it, and exclude war from every Christian nation. This will open a door of access to the heathen; and they will no longer regard Chistians, as *hypocrites*, in pretending to be followers of the Prince of Peace.

Second Reason.

It is impossible that men should make war under the influence of the principles of peace; and it is possible that these principles may be generally adopted. Some people are disposed to regard the attempt to abolish war as of the same fantastical character, as would be an attempt to abolish tempests, earthquakes, and the eruptions of volcanoes. But it ought to be considered that these natural phenomena have no dependence on human opinions, human passions, or human agency. They would occur, even if all mankind were united in an attempt for their abolition. But it is not so with war. This is the proper fruit of human opinions and passions; and it never can occur but by the agency of human beings.

It has also been said, that war results from the *nature of man*. Be it so; this is no evidence that it cannot be abolished; for it is one part of the nature of man to give up sanguinary customs, upon being fully convinced that they are unnecessary, useless, and injurious. Besides, all the inhuman customs which have been abolished resulted from the *nature of man*, as well as war. Yet we see that their abolition was *possible*, and has been effected.

All those abolished customs might have been popular to this day, had no change been effected in the opinions of men respecting them. But as soon as a change is effected in public opinion and feeling, a change of manners and customs follows of course.

There is nothing in the nature of those opinions that support war, which renders them immutable. This is abundant-

ly evident from the fact, that the opinions of *many* have already been *changed*. What has been effected in many, may be effected in other men of the same general nature.

Besides, so far as the sentiments and spirit of peace have been imbibed, war is already abolished. Those who have cordially adopted these sentiments will *not make war*, and they will do what they can to prevent its being made by others. This sentiment and feeling may be extended, and become general or universal.

Third Reason.

The greater the number shall be in any one nation, of those who embrace the gospel sentiments of peace, the greater will be the probability that the rulers of that nation will avoid making war; and that other nations will forbear making war on them.

The truth of the first proposition may be made manifest, as it respects a nation whose government is elective. As soon as a majority in any district or state shall embrace the sentiments of peace, the power of election being in their hands, it may be expected that they will elect the friends of peace—to whatever political party they may belong. The great question then will *not* be, *Is he a republican?* nor *Is he a federalist?* But, *Is he opposed to war*, and a genuine peace character?

Moreover, those who may be in office will have powerful inducements to avoid war, lest they should lose the esteem of their constituents.

Indeed it is possible, and even probable, that long before the majority of the nation shall be converted to peace sentiments, the benefit of those principles may be felt through the land. This may be shown by adverting to well known facts.

But before I state the facts alluded to, it will be proper to say, that I am very far from wishing to state any thing for the purpose of exciting irritation, or casting reproach on any class of citizens. I sincerely wish that all party spirit might be banished from our country. A *reformation* in the

principles of both political parties, as they relate to war, is believed to be highly important. My appeal to facts will be only for the purpose of illustrating and supporting my own opinions; and it will be made in the spirit of candor and friendship towards all my fellow citizens, without distinction of party.

The facts to be mentioned are these. It is well known that questions of war and peace in our nation are decided by vote. On the question of the late war, such, if I mistake not, was the state of opinions in the senate of our nation, that had there been but *one* more senator *against* the war, it would not have been declared, and the lamentable consequences, which followed the declaration, would have been avoided.

Perhaps also it may be said with equal truth, that had there been but *one more* peace character in the British cabinet, the cause of irritation between the two governments would have been removed so seasonably, as to have prevented the declaration of war on our part.

Cases of a similar nature may again occur, when the influence of an individual peace character will be sufficient to save the nation from a bloody contest.

It may then be asked, Is it a thing incredible, that the exertions of the friends of peace will soon have influence to bring into the Congress of the United States one more peace character, than would be found there, if no exertions for the abolition of war were to be made? Some of those who are now members of Congress, may adopt the sentiments of peace, or others may adopt them who shall be candidates for the office, or some who have already adopted them, may be elected on that account.

Similar remarks might be made in respect to the British government. Nor are we without ground to hope, even in regard to despotic governments. The most absolute sovereigns have ministers or counsellors, who have influence in deciding questions of war and peace. These ministers may be accessible in some form or other. The sentiments of peace may be made to reach not only their understandings, but their hearts.

As the spirit of war is of a contagious nature, and easily communicated from one government to another; something similar may happen in regard to the spirit of peace. If this spirit should govern in the proceedings and negotiations of our own government, it may be the occasion of a like spirit in the British government; and should the rulers of Great Britain imbibe the principles and spirit of peace, it may be in their power to diffuse them throughout the world. Should the British nation become as eminent for peace, as they have been for war—and should a Peace Society be formed in Great Britain, as powerful as the British and Foreign Bible Society, the seeds for the abolition of war will soon be sown in every nation under heaven. And let it be remembered, that this is a kind of seed, which will be productive.

Besides, as there is nothing which so endangers the stability of human governments, as the principles and spirit of war, it must be for the interest of rulers to unite in adopting the opposite principles and an opposite spirit. Suppose that the rulers of all the nations in Europe and America should unitedly embrace the principles of peace, and devote annually a *tenth* part of the property in diffusing the principles of peace in their respective dominions, as they have annually expended or destroyed in support of war—can it admit of a doubt, whether this would contribute to the *permanency* of each government, and to the *happiness* of each nation?

Enough perhaps has been said to show, that the greater the number of peace characters in any one nation, the greater is the probability that the rulers of that people will avoid making war. The other proposition is, that the greater also is the probability that the rulers of other nations will avoid making war on them.

For the proof of the second proposition, the reader is referred to the *affecting contrast*, stated in the last Number, in which may be seen the influence of pacific principles, when honestly displayed towards savages by the Quaker government in Pennsylvania. That indeed is a "solitary example," but it ought to be admitted as proof, till some other government shall have made the experiment; or until it shall be ad-

mitted that Christian nations are *worse* than *savages*, and less capable of being influenced by kind treatment.

An argument in favor of war, as much relied on perhaps as any, is this, that God has furnished the various tribes of animals with means of self-defence. But people who are disposed to learn their duty from what appears in brutes, rather than from what appears in the gospel, would do well to consider other facts beside those which are so commonly brought to view. It is true indeed, that God has furnished animals with means of self-defence, and that they generally know how to *fight*. But it is also true, that *good natured* animals know how to avoid fighting with others of their own species.

When two dogs meet, if one assumes a fighting air and attitude, and the other, being good natured, pays no regard to these menaces, but approaches his fellow with an air of kindness and pleasantry, no quarrel ensues, and both remain uninjured. But if *both* assume the fighting attitude, a battle takes place of course. These observations will apply to other animals as well as to dogs. Seldom is there a pitched battle between two animals of the same species, if either is really disposed to avoid it. But when menacing looks, airs, and gestures on one side, are retorted by a similar spirit on the other, a trial ensues, "to see which can do the other the most harm;" and commonly in these cases each of the combatants receives more or less injury, but neither of them any benefit, except the *praise of fighting bravely*. Similar to this is the common fate of warring nations.

If any Christian is determined to follow the examples of brutes, rather than those which he is required to imitate, let him, for conscience' sake, prefer the *best* examples of the brutal kind, and not the *worst*. Let rulers do the same, and antichristian wars will seldom occur. For it may be presumed, that there are but a few *Christian* rulers so much worse than the savages were in the days of William Penn, that they would make war on a people who had resolved to act on pacific principles.

Fourth Reason.

In every nation the ministers of religion may have great influence, in an attempt to abolish inhuman customs; and the principles of peace are so obviously the principles of the gospel, that it must be easy to engage in the cause of peace, the truly benevolent ministers of every denomination.

That the acknowledged ministers of religion may have great influence in such a cause, may be evident to any one who shall consider what *has been* the influence of such ministers in the denominations of Christians which have already denied the lawfulness of war, in every form. Other ministers might have similar influence, if they would adopt similar principles in regard to war, and preach and practise conformably to them. How AWFUL THEN IS THEIR RESPONSIBILITY!

That the principles of peace are the principles of the gospel, no unprejudiced person will deny. Nor will it be denied that every minister, who possesses the temper of his Lord, has his *heart* already on the side of peace. Therefore, by calling his attention to the glaring contrariety between the spirit of Christ and the spirit of war, he must naturally become convinced, that one or the other is positively wicked. Having proceeded thus far, he cannot long hesitate on the question—Shall I follow the Messiah, the Prince of Peace, or Mahomet, the Prince of War?

The friends of peace may therefore be as sure of gaining to their cause the true ministers of Jesus, as they can be of exciting them to a thorough examination of the subject. This acquisition must be followed by the most important consequences. The serious, intelligent, and conscientious members of the several parishes, will be led to examine the subject of war, and will soon follow their ministers in the way of peace. Pious parents and schoolmasters, having adopted the principles of peace themselves, will be engaged to impress them on the minds of the children and youth under their care. In this way we may expect to see thousands of young people growing up with an abhorrence of war. The more heedless

members of society, on observing the change in the views of the serious and the good, may be led to reflect on the subject, and finally to this conclusion—that wisdom's ways are "ways of pleasantness," and that "all her paths are peace."

It may be added, that almost every worthy minister has free access to some statesman. legislator, or magistrate, with whom he can converse on the subject of war, and to whom he may impart the sentiments of peace. Thus the spirit and principles of peace may find their way into the houses of legislation, and the cabinets of presidents and princes.

It is indeed possible, and perhaps probable, that the progress of peace sentiments will be less rapid than some anticipate. But no one, I think, will deny, that the course which has been pointed out for their prevalence, is both natural and encouraging.

Fifth Reason.

As the sentiments of peace shall be gaining ground, the various means of exciting the passion for war will be gradually losing their influence.

The trumpet of military fame will sound weaker and weaker. Some other qualities of mind, beside ferocious bravery, will be found necessary to give a man a just claim to public esteem and applause. Newspapers which shall be conducted on pacific principles, will be preferred to those of a libellous and warring character. Love to the lives, the happiness, and the peace of one's countrymen, will be regarded as true patriotism; and the usual inflammatory war speeches and writings, will be regarded as *immoral* and *pernicious*. Histories of war and carnage will be written, not with a view to keep alive the spirit of war, but as books of *lamentation* and *warning*.

In proportion as peace sentiments shall become popular, war, with all its means of excitement, and all its apparatus of death and destruction, will be less and less esteemed; and popular applause, which is the most powerful motive to war, will operate with diminished force and influence. There are, indeed, many motives and incentives to war; but if that of

military glory should lose its power, and bloody exploits should be regarded as matter of mourning, rather than of triumph and applause; few men will be found of a disposition to produce murderous conflicts. Those who shall regard their reputation will appear on the side of peace, and their feet will no more be "swift to shed blood."

Sixth Reason.

Interest is a powerful motive with mankind in general, and war is against the interest of nine tenths of the people in every nation.

It has justly been said, that "party is the madness of many, for the gain of a few." War is both the *madness* and the *ruin* of many, for the benefit of a few; and these few are generally unprincipled men, who are willing to sacrifice not only the property but the lives of their fellow beings to their own avarice and ambition. In wars in general, the mass of people on both sides are made the dupes of aspiring or deluded leaders.

A war is seldom more just or necessary, on the part of those who commence it, than our late contest was with Great Britain; and seldom is a war more beneficial or less destructive. Yet supposing the result could have been perfectly foreseen—where is the man, in either of the two nations, who would have given his own life to have secured to his country every advantage obtained by the war?

Some persons on each side have acquired military fame, and some have acquired property; but all this gain has been at the expense of the property, the happiness, and the blood of a multitude of fellow beings, as good as themselves. What then shall we say to these things? Must not men be *monsters of inhumanity*, who can riot with pleasure on the blood of their brethren? Alas! how many have been slain! how many have been made cripples for life! how many have been reduced to mourning, beggary, and wretchedness, to provide the feast of good things for those who have gained by the war! Compared with the whole population, how few either

in Great Britain or the United States, have profited by the sanguinary conflict.

Can Christians reflect on these things without pain? Can common people of common sense imagine, that it is for *their* advantage to support such a *murderous lottery;* a lottery in which the chances to lose are comparatively so numerous, and all the chances to gain are by the misery and ruin of their brethren! And when too the mass of common people are so uniformly excluded from the chances of gain!

Seventh Reason.

The friends of peace are already numerous in this country and in Great Britain; and the progress of peace sentiments has been very considerable in the course of the last year.

There are several small sects or societies of Christians, who have renounced war:—The Moravians, the Menonists, the Dunkers, and the Shakers. These are small, compared with several other denominations in our land. But altogether they amount to a considerable number. The Harmony Society is said to be pretty numerous, and all of them opposed to war. The *thousand Congregations of Friends* in the United States, are a *thousand Peace Societies.*

The Friends are not confined to this country. In Great Britain they "are," says Mr. Bigland, "a pretty numerous and very opulent sect, and in regard to their principles and conduct, may be considered as one of the most respectable denominations of Christians."* And when we consider the active part they took in the abolition of the slave trade, great reliance may be made on their coöperation in the attempt for the abolition of war.

Several books and tracts on the subject of war are in circulation in Great Britain; and the Editor of the Edinburgh Review has written a number of things calculated to lead people to reflect on the subject. A Peace Society has been proposed in London, nor is there much reason to doubt that such a society has there been established before this time.

* View of the World, vol. i, p. 365.

In our country are to be found many friends of peace, besides those sects or denominations which have been named; and in the course of the last year, considerable was published on the subject, both in this state and in New York. The Friend of Peace is not the only periodical work in which the subject has been discussed. There are three others, if no more, in which the subject has been brought to view—The Panoplist, the Christian Disciple, and the American Magazine. In each of these works war has been decidedly condemned as antichristian. This coöperation in periodical works must naturally have a favorable influence in a good cause.

At the commencement of the last year, but a few individuals in this vicinity were known to have adopted sentiments in opposition to war, as an *antichristian custom*. But before the year closed, a Peace Society was formed, which is now respectable both as to characters and numbers. Nor is this the only Peace Society which was formed in our country in the course of the last year, although it is the only one of which I am authorized to give a particular account.

If the information be correct, which has been received from different quarters, in regard to the views of the ministers of religion, and if we may calculate on a progressive increase for years to come, proportionate to that of the last year; we may pretty confidently expect, that at the commencement of the year 1820, there will not be found in New England a single advocate for the custom of war, among all the ministers of religion of every denomination.

Nor is it to be imagined that this blessed influence will be confined to the ministers of New England. There are many good ministers, it is believed, in each of the United States; and we may expect that the distinction between *peace ministers* and *war ministers*, will soon be understood and felt.

Eighth Reason.

In the late Treaty of Peace, between Great Britain and the United States, a principle has been adopted for the settlement of disputes between nations, which may be extended

to every possible case; and people may be made to understand it so fully, that it will be impossible for rulers to make war, without incurring the disapprobation of all intelligent and conscientious men.

This point will be illustrated by borrowing some remarks on the Treaty, from the Christian Disciple for April 1815:—

"By the Treaty it appears, that there are still points in dispute between the two governments, which might have been the occasion of future wars, had not seasonable arrangements been made for their adjustment. These questions relate to certain islands, which are claimed by both nations, and to the dividing line between the British Provinces and the United States. Disputes of such a nature are as good grounds for war, as any which have been found in past ages.

"What then are the principles, adopted by the Commissioners, to avoid war on these questions? They have discovered that peace is better than war, and that such controversies may be settled by *reference* or *arbitration*. Accordingly the Treaty provides, that Commissioners shall be appointed by each of the two governments, to examine and settle the points in debate; and if they cannot agree, they are to make out a fair statement of the cases, and then the whole is to be submitted to some friendly sovereign, whose decision is to be final.

"The commissioners have discovered that but *two things* are necessary to avoid the calamities of war, viz. That rulers should *possess a disposition for peace*, and *adopt the principles of common sense* for the settlement of controversies.—The principles disclosed in the treaty had long been in use among *honest* and *peaceful* citizens.

"If such points, as are now in dispute, may be settled on the principles exhibited in the treaty, common sense can easily see, that these principles may be extended to every species of national controversy. Happy indeed it would have been, had these principles been known and applied prior to the late war!—But as they were not, let Christians rejoice that the light has at last resulted from the dreadful collision. While they deplore the evils which took place, during the

reign of darkness, let them be grateful that principles are *now* discovered, which, if properly applied, may render the present peace as durable as time.

"Let not this ray of light ever be forgotten; or ever be eclipsed by warring passions. Let all sincere Christians unite in one vigorous effort to diffuse this light through the world. If proper exertions should be made in Great Britain, and in the United States, it will never be in the power of either of the two governments again to declare war against the other, without being made to feel, that they *sin against the light*, and that *good men must abhor their proceedings.*"

Ninth Reason.

The exertions in favor of peace may be extensively useful, even if they should not result in the complete abolition of war.

These exertions may be the occasion of diminishing both the *distresses* and the *frequency* of wars. The more the subject of war is examined, the better it will be understood; and the more the causes and effects, the crimes and sufferings, the follies and delusions of war are exposed, the more will rulers and military men be upon their guard; and the more they will endeavour to avoid the censures of reflecting and intelligent men. Of course, the more careful they will be in respect to making war on frivolous pretexts; and the more they will try to conduct the operations of war with some *appearance* of regard to the laws of humanity.

Should the efforts for the abolition of war only abolish some of the inhuman usages attached to the general custom, and thus mitigate its horrors, the labor will not be in vain. Suppose these efforts should be the occasion of preventing the usual concomitants of taking a city by storm; so that the inhabitants shall be treated with the kindness and humanity due to the unfortunate, instead of being devoted to pillage, massacre, insult, and violation: this will be sufficient to counterbalance millions of expense in the cause of peace. The English language affords no terms of censure or reprobation too strong to be applied to what has been the conduct of ar-

mies on such occasions. If we say that such conduct is *brutal* and *diabolical*, we convey no correct idea of its nature; for we have no evidence that either *brutes* or *devils* were ever chargeable with such atrocious inhumanity.

But we may reasonably hope that the exertions in favor of peace, will not only diminish some of the horrors of war, but that they will also diminish its frequency. That this may be the effect is highly probable from the considerations brought to view under the Third Reason, as well as from the tendency of these exertions to put rulers upon their guard. And if the result should be a diminution as to the *number* or *frequency* of wars, the benefits will surpass in value all human calculation.

For example; let it be supposed, that in case no such exertions were made, our country would suffer the calamity of *four* such wars in a century, as our last war with Great Britain. Then suppose that by the exertions of the friends of peace, the number of such wars should be reduced to *two*, or even to *three* in a century. How trifling will be the expense of ten millions of dollars, in the cause of peace, compared with the advantages which will result!

If we take nothing into view but the saving of *property*, every hundred dollars that will be expended for peace, will probably be the occasion of saving a million. But the loss of property is not the greatest evil of war. The loss of lives, the distress of mourners, the agonies of wounded men, and the misery of the wicked, who go from the field of battle to the regions of despair! these are evils, against which dollars are as nothing and vanity. Yet the expense of a hundred thousand dollars in this country, in cultivating the principles of peace, may prevent the untimely death of a hundred thousand of our brethren or our children, and months of exquisite distress to as many more. Not only so, the saving of so many men from untimely death, may be the occasion of their being finally saved from misery in the world to come.

Tenth Reason.

We may now advance still farther and say—Even on the improbable supposition, that the exertions in favor of permanent peace, should so far fail of their intended effect, as neither to diminish the horrors nor the frequency of war, still the labors of those who are faithful and sincere in the cause will not be in vain.

The proper characteristics of war are *inhumanity*, *crime*, and *woe*. To indulge, therefore, the spirit and passions of war must be injurious to the moral character, and dangerous to the souls of men. On the contrary, faithfully to cultivate the principles and the spirit of peace, must have a salutary and saving influence. We naturally imbibe more and more of the spirit which we habitually contemplate and admire. Those, therefore, who cordially engage in the cause of peace, and cherish the spirit of the gospel, will at least gain these benefits—they will improve their own moral characters—they will become more and more assimilated to the temper of their Prince and Saviour, and be the better prepared to enjoy the blessedness which he has promised to peace-makers. The gracious reward does not depend on the success of our exertions, but on the temper and fidelity with which they are made.

Besides, those who faithfully engage and persevere in the cause of peace, will avoid the guilt and condemnation of being in future accessary to the crimes and miseries of such wars as they cannot prevent. Their consciences will bear them witness that they were not the guilty agents who hurried their fellow-men into scenes of murder and wretchedness.

Should a future war occur, the faithful friend of peace will experience the consolation of an approving conscience, while he says to himself—"*This* war, *these* scenes of blood and carnage, have not occurred by *my* agency, nor prior to faithful exertions on my part to prevent them. I have not only forborn to encourage war, but I have done what I could, in the situation I was placed by Providence, and with the talents entrusted to me, to open the eyes of my brethren, and

to save my country from such guilt and misery. If the ravages of war should extend to my habitation—if my substance, my family, and even my life, shall fall a prey to this destructive scourge; I have this comfort—I shall 'suffer as a *Christian*,' and not as a *murderer*. My God, my Saviour, my inheritance, and my home are in heaven, where wars shall never reach me, and peace shall be immortal."

If these were the only benefits to result from the most diligent and faithful efforts for the abolition of war, they would be a glorious recompense—a recompense infinitely surpassing all the acqusitions of bloody men.

The ten reasons which have been given in favor of the utility of efforts for the abolition of war, are, if I mistake not, all founded on well authenticated facts, or rational grounds of probability and encouragement. Several other sources of encouragement have heretofore been occasionally mentioned, and may perhaps at a future time be more amply discussed: such as the benignant character of Jehovah—the beneficent design and tendency of the gospel—the predictions relating to the peace of the world under the reign of the Messiah—the numerous societies and benevolent institutions in Europe and America, which have a tendency to enlighten and humanize the mind; to excite, cherish, and promote Christian love and sympathy, and to improve the moral state of society. When these various sources of encouragement are viewed in connexion with the ten reasons which have been illustrated—what more can be wanting to inspire a hope in every friend of peace, which shall be as "an anchor to the soul, both sure and stedfast"—a hope which he will not be ashamed to avow, even in the presence of a warring and unbelieving world?

If the *friends of war* are not ashamed to avow their opinions, while God, and religion, and humanity are all against them; surely the *friends of peace* may speak their minds and pursue their work without dismay: for the God of peace, the Prince of peace, the Gospel of peace are all for them, and every thing GOOD in heaven and in earth, in angels and

in men, is on their side, to encourage their hearts, to strengthen their hands, and to crown them with glory.

The cause of peace is of so amiable a character, that the more it is examined, the more it will be admired; but the cause of war is in its nature so hateful and inhuman, that it needs only to be *seen*, to be detested. The time is at hand when the fascinating laurels of the blood-stained conquerors of the world, will fade and wither, by the influence of the SUN OF PEACE, and when such monsters will no longer be regarded as worthy of PRAISE for the innumerable *robberies* and *murders* they committed.

LETTER TO THE HON. MR. JEFFERSON.

SIR, ————, *October* 18, 1815.

ALTHOUGH a stranger to you, I take the liberty to address you on a subject deeply interesting to humanity. I am encouraged to do this by a recollection of some things in your state papers, which I then regarded as indications that you had become convinced of the impolicy of war, and that you wished to avoid a rupture with foreign nations.

Near the close of the late war, I was somehow excited to examine the subject of war in general; and I became fully convinced, that the custom of settling national disputes by war, is perfectly needless, unjust, and inhuman, as well as antichristian; and that the custom is supported by delusion and a barbarous fanaticism. Under these impressions and convictions, I have published three pamphlets on the subject; a copy of each I send with this, soliciting you to accept and to peruse them.

Having some knowledge of your advanced age, your talents, and your weight of character, I am desirous that you should attend to the subject of the pamphlets, according to its importance, and that you should favor me with the result of your reflections,—that if your opinion shall accord with mine, your testimony may be employed for the good of our country and the peace of the world.

Near the close of the second Number of the Friend of Peace you may find some encouraging facts.

Should I meet with encouragement, the Friend of Peace will still be continued quarterly. Any information or hints which you may give in favor of the glorious object, will be gratefully accepted by your sincere friend,

---

Hon. THOMAS JEFFERSON,
late President of the U. S.

MR. JEFFERSON'S ANSWER.

SIR, *Monticello, Jan. 29, 1816.*

YOUR letter, bearing date Oct. 18, 1815, came only to hand the day before yesterday, which is mentioned to explain the date of mine. I have to thank you for the pamphlets accompanying it, to wit, the Solemn Review, the Friend of Peace, or Special Interview, and the Friend of Peace No. 2. The first of these I had received through another channel some months ago. I have not read the two last steadily through, because where one assents to propositions as soon as announced, it is loss of time to read the arguments in support of them. These numbers discuss the first branch of the causes of war, that is to say, wars undertaken for the *point of honor*, which you aptly analogize with the act of duelling between individuals, and reason with justice from the one to the other. Undoubtedly this class of wars is in the general what you state them to be, "needless, unjust, and inhuman, as well as antichristian."

The second branch of this subject, to wit, wars undertaken on account of *wrong done*, and which may be likened to the act of robbery in private life, I presume will be treated of in your future numbers. I observe this class mentioned in the Solemn Review, p. 10, and the question asked—"Is it common for a nation to obtain a *redress* of wrongs by war?" The answer to this question you will of course draw from history; in the mean time, reason will answer it on grounds of probability, that where the wrong has been done

by a weaker nation, the stronger one has generally been able to enforce redress; but where by a stronger nation, redress by war has been neither obtained nor expected by the weaker; on the contrary, the loss has been increased by the expenses of the war in blood and treasure: yet it may have obtained another object equally securing itself from future wrong. It may have retaliated on the aggressor losses of blood and treasure, far beyond the value to him, of the wrong he had committed, and thus have made the advantage of that too dear a purchase to leave him in a disposition to renew the wrong in future; in this way the loss by the war may have secured the weaker nation from loss by future wrong. The case you state of two boxers, both of whom get a "terrible bruising," is apposite to this; he of the two who committed the aggression on the other, although victor in the scuffle, yet probably finds his aggression not worth the bruising it has cost him. To explain this by numbers, it is alleged, that Great Britain took from us before the late war near 1000 vessels, and that during the war we took from her 1400; that before the war she seized, and made slaves of 6000 of our citizens, and that in the war we killed more than 6000 of her subjects, and caused her to expend such a sum as amounted to 4 or 5·000 guineas a head for every slave she made. She might have purchased the vessels she took for less than the value of those she lost, and have used the 6000 of her men killed for the purposes to which she applied ours, have saved the 4 or 5·000 guineas a head, and obtained a character of justice, which is valuable to a nation as to an individual. These considerations, therefore, leave her without inducement to plunder property, and take men in future on such dear terms. I neither affirm nor deny the truth of these allegations, nor is their truth material to the question; they are possible, and therefore present a case which will claim your consideration in a discussion of the general question—Whether any degree of injury can render a recourse to war expedient? Still less do I propose to draw to myself any part in this discussion. Age, and it's effects both on body and mind, has weaned my attentions from public sub-

jects, and left me unequal to the labors of correspondence, beyond the limits of my personal concerns. I retire, therefore, from the question with a sincere wish, that your writings may have effect in lessening this greatest of human evils, and that you may retain life and health to enjoy the contemplation of this happy spectacle; and pray you to be assured of my great respect.

——— ———. TH: JEFFERSON.

LETTER TO THE HON. MR. ADAMS.

SIR, ———, *January 23, 1816.*

HAVING for more than a year devoted much of my time to an inquiry relating to war, that terrible scourge of guilty nations; I am desirous of having the fruit of my inquiries examined by men, whose talents, situation, and propects will enable them to judge impartially. The Rev. Mr. Norton informed me that you had condescended to read my writings on some other subjects. This has excited a hope that you will read with candor what I have written on war and peace. I therefore send you a copy of "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War," and three numbers of the "Friend of Peace." Be pleased, sir, to accept them, with my best wishes for your present and future welfare.

I have sent similar copies to Mr. Jefferson, and intend soon to send to Mr. Jay. As I have no wish to conceal any part of my object in these communications, I will say—I hope to obtain a testimony from three able and aged statesmen, before they shall leave the world, which may be employed in favor of the object which lies so near my heart—*the abolition of the most fatal custom which ever afflicted the human family.* I cannot but hope that you and the other two gentlemen have been preserved to this late period, to perform a service, which will be remembered with gratitude for many ages; and which shall contribute to the temporal and eternal salvation of millions of your fellow beings. A few words from such men, while on the borders of eternity, may be the occasion of unspeakable good.

With the pamphlets, I also send a copy of the Constitution of the Massachusetts Peace Society, which has been recently formed. It would add much to my happiness to see your venerable name in the list of subscribers. We have, indeed, many respectable names already: yours would add to the joy of many, and particularly to that of your sincere friend,

———— ————.

Hon. JOHN ADAMS,
formerly President of the U. S.

MR. ADAMS' ANSWER.

DEAR SIR, *Quincy, February* 6, 1816.

I HAVE received your kind letter of the 23d of January, and I thank you for the pamphlets enclosed with it.

It is very true, as my excellent friend, Mr. Norton, has informed you, that I have read many of your publications with pleasure.

I have also read, almost all the days of my life, the solemn reasonings and pathetic declamations of Erasmus, of Fenelon, of St. Pierre, and many others against war, and in favor of peace. My understanding and my heart accorded with them, at first blush. But, alas! a longer and more extensive experience has convinced me, that wars are as necessary and as inevitable, in our system, as Hurricanes, Earthquakes, and Volcanoes.

Our beloved country, sir, is surrounded by enemies, of the most dangerous, because the most powerful and most unprincipled character. Collisions of national interest, of commercial and manufacturing rivalries, are multiplying around us. Instead of discouraging a martial spirit, in my opinion it ought to be excited. We have not enough of it to defend us by sea or land.

Universal and perpetual peace appears to me no more nor less than everlasting passive obedience and non resistance. The human flock would soon be fleeced and butchered by one or a few.

I cannot therefore, sir, be a subscriber or a member of your society.

I do, sir, most humbly supplicate the theologians, the philosophers, and the politicians to let me die in peace. I seek only repose.

With the most cordial esteem, however,

I am, sir, your friend and servant,

——— ———. JOHN ADAMS.

REVIEW OF THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. JEFFERSON.

My letter to Mr. Jefferson is inserted to show, that his testimony was requested for public use, and that in giving it a place in this work, I am not chargeable with publishing what he expected me to conceal. One paragraph in the letter to him is suppressed, because it related exclusively to the profession and employment of the writer, and could be of no use in the Friend of Peace.

The answer of Mr. Jefferson is regarded as a valuable document, adapted to the object for which it was sought. The approbation he has given of the sentiments of the Solemn Review and the Friend of Peace, is as full and explicit as could be expected of a gentleman in his situation. He had been acquainted with the Solemn Review "some months" before he received it from me. The two numbers of the Friend of Peace he had no occasion to "read steadily through" prior to answering, because his mind "assented to the propositions as soon as announced."

"Wars undertaken for the *point of honor*," he thinks "are aptly analogized with duelling," and that I have "reasoned with justice from one to the other." He adds—"undoubtedly this class of wars is in general what you state them to be, 'needless, unjust, and inhuman, as well as antichristian.'"

"Wars undertaken on account of *wrong done*," he "presumes will be treated of in future Numbers." After stating one object, which may be attained by such a war, he adds—"The case you state of two boxers, both of whom get a 'terrible bruising,' is apposite to this." He then proceeds "to explain this by numbers," in reference to our late war, with

Great Britain. His statement of the case is made on the ground of what has been alleged on our part; but he very prudently says, "I neither affirm nor deny the truth of these allegations." Yet as such things "are possible," they "present a case," which he thinks "will claim" my "consideration in a discussion of the general question,—Whether any degree of injury can render a recourse to war expedient?"

In this opinion I readily concur, and shall endeavor at a proper time to examine the "case" with fairness and candor.

"I retire," he says "from the question with a sincere wish that your writings may have effect in diminishing this *greatest of human evils*, and that you may retain life and health to enjoy the contemplation of this happy spectacle."

This certainly is both friendly and respectful; nor could he have given a more decided approbation of the *object* of the Friend of Peace. For the testimony contained in his letter, Mr. Jefferson is entitled to my sincere and grateful acknowledgments; and I hope it will be a means of opening the eyes of thousands, as to the impolicy and inhumanity of war.

REVIEW OF THE CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. ADAMS.

As the opinions of Mr. Adams relating to war are so evidently repugnant to my own, it will probably be a question with many, why the correspondence with him has a place in this work. To such an inquiry it may be proper to answer,

First. Although the opinions of Mr. Adams are opposed to the object of the Friend of Peace, I regard his letter as expressing his *real opinions*, and without any unfriendly feelings towards me, or any wish to injure his country. He indeed wrote with a kind of characteristic frankness, which is apt to be less pleasing when it appears in opposition to one's own opinions, than when it appears in their favor. But he certainly had a right to answer my letter according to his own views of war. Nor have I yet forgotten the time when I should have approved some of the sentiments which he has avowed.

Secondly. Mr. Adams unquestionably understood me as requesting his answer for publication, in the hope that it would accord with my views, and aid the cause which I wish to promote. Had I, then, published the letter from Mr. Jefferson, which favors my views, and suppressed the one from Mr. Adams, he, and many others, might have thought me partial, and disposed to conceal the opinions of influential men, if they happen not to accord with my own. He might also have supposed, that had I conducted impartially, his letter would not only have counterbalanced the influence of Mr. Jefferson's, but have counteracted the tendency of the Friend of Peace.

It is however presumed, that Mr. Adams does not consider me as *designing* to bring evil on my country, but as misled by my feelings on the subject of war,—as he was when his "understanding and his heart accorded at first blush," with the "solemn reasonings and pathetic declamations of Erasmus, of Fenelon, of St. Pierre, and many others against war, and in favor of peace."

In the second Number of this work the reader may find, what appears to me an answer to all Mr. Adams has said in favor of war, and against "universal and perpetual peace." His views, if I understand them, accord with those of Lord Kaimes, which were the principal topics of discussion in that number. Something also may be found in this Number, which was written prior to my receiving his letter. After reading those remarks, every one must judge for himself, whether "wars are as necessary and as inevitable in our system, as hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanoes."

I hope it will not be deemed disrespectful if I say, that I think Mr. Adams is under a mistake in supposing that there is "not enough" of a "martial spirit" in our country. What is a "*martial spirit*," but a *spirit for war and fighting?* And is there not as perfect a contrast between the "*martial spirit*" and "*the spirit of Christ*," as there is between *war* and *peace?* Can any one suppose, that the "martial spirit" is that "meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price?" Is the "martial spirit" what is recommended by our Savior,

when he says, "LEARN OF ME?" or when he says, "Blessed are the peace-makers; for they shall be called the sons of God?"

Whether I am in the right or in the wrong, it is my opinion, that the more there is of the spirit of Christ in any nation, the greater is its safety; and the more there is of a "martial spirit," the greater is its danger.

It seems to be the opinion of Mr. Adams, that in a state of "universal and perpetual peace," "the human flock would soon be fleeced and butchered by one or a few." I have reflected on this hypothesis, but have not been able to ascertain, who there would be to *fleece* and to *butcher*, in a state of "UNIVERSAL and PERPETUAL PEACE."

But even admitting, what seems to me an impossible case, that there should be *fighting men* in a state of "universal and perpetual peace," it is, to say the least, very improbable that "*one* or a *few*" would *fleece* and *butcher* so many of the "human flock," as are fleeced and butchered in the present state of the world,—while several *millions* of men are trained up to fleecing and butchering, as a *professional* and *honorable* employment. For in the state of "universal and perpetual peace" the "one or a few" would not be stimulated to fleece and butcher by the hope of military glory, and the applause of a deluded multitude. Instead of being extolled, and toasted, and feasted, and caressed, and semi-deified for their sanguinary exploits, they would be regarded as *monsters of inhumanity*. Knowing this to be the light in which his character is viewed, the *solitary barbarian* would make no parade of his mischievous enterprizes; but, like the private robber or assassin of the present age, he would study concealment, and avail himself of the hours of darkness to perpetrate his abominable deeds. The general abhorrence which would be felt by the peaceful "flock" towards his character, would be more terrible to him, than the sight of the halter or the gibbet.

In writing to my venerable friend, it was far from my heart to do or say any thing to disturb his "repose" or to prevent his *dying in peace*. Indeed it was my wish to excite

him to do something for the PEACE OF THE WORLD, which he would reflect upon with pleasure in the hour of death; and which others would remember with gratitude. And although his letter is not such as I hoped for, my regard to him and my wish that he may "die in peace" are not abated. It is however my serious belief, that the more a person's mind is imbued with the principles and the spirit of peace, the more likely he is to "die in peace," in the best sense of the phrase.

One remark more may be useful, which however will not be intended as a reflection upon any person, but which may be beneficial to many:—There is certainly a respect due to the aged, and especially to those who have been eminent for rank, for talents, and for usefulness. But it ought to be understood by all, that *age* does not secure a man from error. This must be evident from the diversity of opinions to be found among those who are advanced in years. As all men are liable to be influenced by education, many of the opinions of the *aged* are properly the opinions which they imbibed while *young*, and which were confirmed by habit, situation, and employment, prior to any thorough examination. Such opinions of a man at *eighty* may be as properly considered as the opinions of a *young man*, who lived sixty years ago, as the venerable opinions of *old age*. Nay such opinions may have been the opinions of a man who died at thirty years of age, a thousand years ago; and which, having been transmitted as an inheritance entailed to posterity, have at length become the opinions of a man, venerable for age, for talents, and for "experience."

Although it is unusual for aged people to give up the opinions which they think they have acquired by "experience," I cannot but indulge the hope, that Mr. Adams will yet be able to say—"My understanding and my heart" again "accord" with the many who have reasoned against war, and *thus* I "DIE IN PEACE."

REVIEW OF AN EXTRACT FROM A POPULAR STATE PAPER.

In the time of our Revolution the American Congress published an address to the people of Great Britain, in which they remarked on a then recent act of Parliament, that granted a free toleration to the Catholic religion in Canada. On this subject the Congress adopted the following language :—

"We think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets.—Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion which has deluged your island with blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world."

This extract has not been brought to view for the purpose of commendation, nor for the purpose of reproach ; but to show what lamentable blindness and inconsistency have prevailed even among Protestants—how ready they have been to reproach the Catholics on account of their "sanguinary tenets," as though the sin of blood-guiltiness were peculiar to Papists.

There was indeed too much ground to say, that the religion of the Catholics was "fraught with sanguinary tenets ;" that it had "deluged the island" of Great Britain "with blood ;" and that it had "dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, and murder through every part of the world." But when Protestants bring these heavy charges against the Papists, are they not liable to the cutting reproof—"Thou that teachest another, teachest thou not thyself?" Thou that reproachest another for "sanguinary tenets," dost thon still retain "sanguinary tenets?" Thou who teachest that man should not kill, dost thou kill?

The Congress probably had particular reference to the persecuting tenets of the Papists ; but have not Protestants also been guilty of persecution? This cannot be answered in the negative.

It may indeed be said, that at the time the address was published, the Protestants had renounced the custom of putting men to death for their religious opinions. But is this the only "sanguinary tenet" in the world? If the *religion* of protestants will not allow them to kill men for *heresy*, is it not however a fact, that their *politics* will allow them to kill for *nothing*, or at least to kill innocent subjects for the real or pretended crimes of their rulers?

If we may justly object to a system of *religion*, because it is "fraught with sanguinary tenets," why may we not as justly object to a system of *politics* on the same ground? Is it a less calamity for a man to be *murdered*, or for a land to be "deluged with blood" by *political* fanaticism, than by *religious* fanaticism? What is the great difference in the two cases, either as to the *sin* or the *misery*, that we should feel authorized to approve the one and to censure the other?

Will it restore a murdered man to life, or comfort his bereaved family, to be told, that it was not *religion* but *politics* that did the mischief? Will such information heal gunshot wounds, or assuage the pain of broken bones and amputated limbs? Will it feed the starving multitude who have been plundered of all the comforts of life by an army of licentious robbers?

Suppose a ruler—to revenge some wrong, real or pretended—has caused the death of 50 or 100,000 of his brethren: On being accused of "sanguinary tenets," which "deluge the land in blood," and which "disperse murder" in every direction, he replies,—"it was not my *religious principles*, but my *political principles* that occasioned the slaughter." He adds, "I am not a *Papist*, I would have you to know; I abhor the practice of killing men for their *religious opinions*." What shall we say of such a ruler? Is he sane, or insane? Suppose he shall make the same plea at the bar of God, will he "be able to stand?"

In behalf of the rulers of Christian nations it will perhaps be said, that they are to be regarded as acting in a twofold capacity—sometimes as *Christians*, at others as *rulers*, and that it is not as *Christians*, but as *rulers*, that they make war.

I grant that it is not AS CHRISTIANS that they make war, for Christianity affords no countenance to such sanguinary measures. But whether their distinction between religion and politics, or between acting as Christians and as rulers, will free them from guilt and condemnation, is a question which demands their serious consideration. The story of the gentleman who was both a Bishop and a Duke may afford an illustration :— Being reproved by a friend for immoral conduct, as unbecoming the character of a *Bishop*, he said that it was not *as the bishop*, but *as the duke*, that he indulged in those excesses. What, said the reprover, will become of the *Bishop* when the *Duke* shall be sent to hell for his crimes?

If we may judge of the views of Christian rulers by their conduct in making war, it would be natural to suppose that they think elevation to office frees them from all obligation to regard the precepts of the gospel in their *official conduct*; and that *as rulers* they may slaughter men by thousands, and still be regarded as the followers of Christ.

But after all the Jesuitical distinctions which have been made or *can* be made, will it be possible for Protestants in general to free themselves from the charge. that their "*religion*" has been "fraught with sanguinary tenets?" I will pass over the lamentable scenes of Protestant persecution in past ages; for these, in my opinion, are among the smaller items in the general account of blood-guiltiness. But I may solemnly ask—Has not the *religion* of Protestants been *associated with every war* in which they have engaged since the days of Luther? How constantly have Protestant rulers and generals endeavored to make the soldiers and common people believe, that their *religion* was one of the objects for which they were *fighting!* Have not Protestant rulers uniformly called on the clergy to employ their influence in exciting a *war spirit?* Have they not also called on them to supplicate a *merciful God* to grant success to their armies, in their work of MURDER AND DESOLATION?

Have not the Protestant clergy been generally submissive to these demands, and thus made their religion subservient to human butchery?

If these things cannot be denied, what but the most deplora-

able blindness can lead Protestants to imagine, that *their religion* has not been "fraught with sanguinary tenets?"

Is it not then time for warring Protestants to cease from boasting of the *purity* of their religion—and from reproaching the Papists for their "sanguinary tenets," till they shall have effected a more thorough reformation in their own principles and customs? It would require something more than the ingenuity of *popish Jesuits* to show, on principles of reason or religion, why the *butcheries of war* are less criminal, or less to be abhorred, than the *butcheries of the Inquisition.* If Protestants can make war, and "murder" men for their *own honor,* and for the *honor of a nation,* let them at least for the sake of *decency* forbear to reproach those who have done the same things for the *honor of God,* and the *honor of religion.*

The "Wallet," mentioned by the heathen philosopher, has long been in use among Protestants. Their own "sanguinary tenets" they have kept in the hinder part, concealed from their own sight; but those of the Roman Catholics they have placed in the fore part, so as to be constantly visible. Is it not time to change the position of the two ends of the "Wallet," that we may have a fair view of our own sanguinary delusions?

WARS BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

THE following account of wars between France and England, is taken from the Evangelical Magazine, printed in London, Jan. 1813. The left hand column gives the year in which the several wars commenced, from the year 1110 to 1813—the right hand column gives the duration of each war.

War commenced	A. D.	years. continued		A. D. commenced	years. continued
	1110	2		1549	1
	1141	1		1557	2
	1161	25		1562	2
	1211	15		1627	2
	1224	19		1665	1
	1294	5		1689	10
	1332	21		1702	11
	1368	52		1744	4
	1422	49		1756	7
	1492	1 mo.		1776	7
	1512	2		1793	9
	1521	6		1803	10

From this shocking account it appears, that the number of wars was 24; that 260 years of the 700 were employed by these nations in butchering one another; that from 1161 to 1471, a term of 310 years, 186 were spent in war; that from 1368 they were at war 101 years in 103--having a peace only of 2 years' duration.

If we add to this account the years that these nations were employed in war with *other* nations, or in *civil wars* in their respective dominions, while at peace with each other, it will probably appear, that they have spent more than half the time in war during the last 700 years. How awful must have been the total amount of *carnage* and *suffering!* If the island of Great Britain and the whole territory of France, should now be sunk by an earthquake, the loss of lives would perhaps be less than what has been occasioned by the voluntary and antichristian wars of the two nations. Yet during the 700 years, the people of these nations have both called themselves *Christians* and gloried in their murderous exploits.

Taking into view the great privileges they have enjoyed, and the depravity and guilt which a great portion of the people must have contracted by their habit of war, we may perhaps justly apply to each of the two nations the following lines, which were addressed by Cowper to the city of London:

> Ten righteous would have saved a city once,
> And thou hast many righteous—Well for thee—
> That salt preserves thee; more corrupted else
> And therefore more obnoxious, at this hour,
> Than Sodom in her day had power to be,
> For whom God heard his Abraham plead in vain.

On no other account is either of the two nations so justly liable to the reproach of being *antichristian*, as on that of their *warring character*, in which they both glory. Shall the people of the United States continue to follow the bloody example of these nations in *offering human sacrifices?* "God forbid!"

Adam to Michael.

> "Adam was all tears and to his guide
> Lamenting turned, full sad: O what are these!
> Death's ministers, not men, who thus deal death
> Inhumanly to men, and multiply
> Ten thousand fold the sin of him who slew
> His brother! For of whom such massacre,
> Make they but of their brethren, men of men?"
>
> *Milton.*

CONSTITUTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY.*

In forming a society, which it is hoped may have an extensive influence, we, the subscribers, deem it proper to make a concise declaration of our motives and objects.

We have been strongly impressed, by considering the manifold crimes and tremendous calamities of public war, and the melancholy insensibility which has been induced by education and habit, in regard to this most barbarous, destructive, and unchristian custom. Our earnest wish is, that men may be brought to view war in a just light, to see clearly its baleful influence on the political, moral, and religious condition of communities, and its opposition to the design and spirit of the gospel. Most earnestly do we desire that men may be brought to feel that a spirit of conquest is among the most atrocious of crimes; that the thirst for military glory is inhuman, delusive, and ruinous, and that the true dignity and happiness of a people result from impartial justice towards all nations, and the spirit and virtues of peace.

Various facts and considerations have conspired in exciting a hope, that a change may be effected in public sentiment, and a more happy state of society introduced. It is evidently the design and tendency of the gospel, to subdue the lusts and passions, from which wars and fightings originate; and encouragement is given that a time will come, when the nations will learn war no more. We believe that a great majority of the people in every civilized country, when free from the delusions of party passions and prejudices, have such an aversion to public hostilities, that they would rejoice if any plan could be devised, which would both secure their rights and absolve them from the burdens and sufferings of war. A late Treaty of Peace has suggested the practicability of such a plan, and given us an admirable lesson on the subject. We now see, that when two governments are *inclined to peace*, they can make some friendly power the umpire and last resort, for settling points of controversy. For this ray of pacific light we are grateful, and we hope that it will be like "the shining light, which shineth more and more unto the perfect day." This hope is strengthened by reflecting on the animating fact, that the horrid custom of *private wars*, which for ages desolated Europe, was finally abolished by a similar project.

Besides, it is clear that every popular custom must depend on public opinion; and we also know, from history, that many customs and usages which were formerly considered as honorable, useful, and even necessary, have since been abolished, as inhuman and barbarous, and are now regarded with detestation and horror.

To the list of encouraging facts we may add, that by their late dreadful sufferings, the attention of the European nations is unusually excited to the guilt and miseries of war; and with joy we have learned, that Peace Societies have been proposed, if not already established, on the other side of the Atlantic. These things not only encourage our hearts, and strengthen our hands, but

* N. B. The Constitution is now given in this edition of No. 4, as amended December 25, 1818.

preclude the objection which might arise, that it is dangerous to cultivate the spirit of peace in one nation, whilst others retain the spirit of war. A coöperation in different countries is joyfully anticipated, in this great work of promoting peace on earth and good will among men.

But above all other sources of encouragement, we contemplate the benevolent character of our heavenly Father, as displayed in the gospel of his beloved Son. We there behold him as "the God of Peace," and we have a cheering hope, that he will own and prosper a society of peacemakers.

It is well known that a diversity of sentiment has existed among Christians on the question, whether war be not in all cases prohibited by the gospel. But we intend that this society shall be established on principles so broad, as to embrace the friends of peace who differ on this as well as on other subjects. We wish to promote the cause of peace by methods which all Christians must approve,—by exhibiting with all clearness and distinctness the pacific nature of the gospel, and by turning the attention of the community to the nature, spirit, causes, and effects of war. We hope that by the concurrence of the friends of peace in all nations, and by the gradual illumination of the Christian world, a pacific spirit may be communicated to governments,—and that, in this way, the occasions of war, and the belief of its necessity, will be constantly diminishing, till it shall be regarded by all Christians with the same horror with which we now look back on the exploded and barbarous customs of former ages.

On these principles, and with these hopes, we adopt the following

ARTICLES.

I. The name of this society shall be The Massachusetts Peace Society.

II. The government of this society shall consist of a President, Vice President, Treasurer, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Assistant Secretaries, and six Trustees, who shall be annually chosen, three of whom shall constitute a quorum.

III. The funds of the society shall be under the direction of the officers, to be employed for the diffusion of light on the subject of war, and in cultivating the principles and spirit of peace. The officers shall have power to appoint an Executive Committee, and Counsellors to advice with the Corresponding Secretary, and to make regulations for the despatch of business.

IV. Each subscriber of one dollar annually shall be a member.

V. Each subscriber of twenty-five dollars shall be a member for life.

VI. All donations to the society shall be recorded; and every donor of fifty dollars or upwards, shall be an honorary member of the society and of the Board of Trustees.

VII. Each member of the society may receive one half his annual subscription in such books or tracts as the officers shall approve, and at the lowest prices of the society.

VIII. This society shall have three annual meetings; the *first*, on the Tuesday following the first Monday in June, annually; at which time any special reports may be received, any additions or amendments to this Constitution, or the regulations of the society may be made, or any incidental business transacted.

The *second* general meeting shall be on the second Tuesday in December; at which time the annual choice of officers shall be made, the reports of the Treasurer and the Trustees received, and all other regular business of the society transacted.

The *third* shall be a public annual celebration on the twenty-fifth day of December, excepting when that shall fall on the Lord's day, in which case the meeting shall be holden on the day following: and on this occasion an address shall be delivered in behalf of the society, by the appointment of the Executive Committee, and such reports as they shall direct may be read.

The hours and places of these several meetings shall be appointed by the Executive Committee, and notified to the members by the Recording Secretary.

IX. This society will encourage the forming of similar societies in this country and in foreign countries, by the dispersion of tracts, by correspondence, and by other suitable means. They will also encourage mutual aid and coöperation among all the friends of peace of every denomination.

X. Should any person become a member of this society, whose residence is remote from Boston, it shall be regarded as honorable for him to encourage the establishment of a similar society in his own vicinity.

XI. No change in the objects of the society shall ever be made; but the articles may be amended, and new articles may be added, as occasion shall require; provided that no alteration be made except at the first annual meeting, and by the consent of two thirds of the members who may then be present.

The Constitution of the Massachusetts Peace Society was signed by a considerable number of gentlemen, Dec. 28, 1815. On the 11th of January the officers were elected. Copies of the Constitution have been circulated to procure subscribers, but the present number of members is not precisely known. The society is however pretty numerous; and in the list of subscribers may be seen the names of the Governor, the Lieut. Governor, two respectable Judges, the President and several Professors of Harvard University, and many ministers of religion of different denominations.

May we not hope that this example will be imitated by the friends of peace in every part of Massachusetts, and in each of the United States?

OFFICERS.

His Honor William Phillips, *President.*
Hon. Thomas Dawes, *Vice President.*
Dea. Elisha Ticknor, *Treasurer.*
Mr. Thomas Wallcutt, *Rec. Sec.*
Rev. Noah Worcester, *Corres. Sec.*
Rev. John Foster, D. D.
Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D.
Professor Levi Hedge,
Rev. Daniel Sharp,
John Kenrick, Esq.
William Wells, Esq. } *Trustees.*

Rev. John Foster, D. D.
Rev. Jonathan Homer,
Rev. Henry Ware, D. D.
Rev. Joseph McKean, LL. D.
Rev. William E. Channing,
} *Counsellors of the Cor. Sec'y.*

NOTICE OF PEACE PUBLICATIONS.

Three valuable pamphlets on war and peace have been received, which have not been noticed in any former Number of this work. The first bears date Feb. 22, 1815, and is entitled, "A Declaration of the Society of People commonly called Shakers—shewing their reasons for refusing to aid or abet the cause of war and blood-shed, by bearing arms, paying fines, hiring substitutes, or rendering any equivalent for military services."

This pamphlet is well written, and it contains many things worthy of the consideration of all Christians. The "Declaration and statements are submitted to the civil and military officers of the state of New York," by the "Elders and Deacons or Trustees of the society" in that state, and signed by 24 persons.

This inoffensive people allege, that since the establishment of their society in New York, they "have paid to the amount of $4000 in military fines." They add, "and we have sufficient evidence that a large portion of this sacrifice has never benefited the state."

They also say—"A large society of our people in the Indiana territory has suffered much. In the time of Gen. Harrison's campaign against the Indians, several divisions of his army at different times encamped in that society; in consequence of which they suffered the loss of nearly all their living, and the whole society, which consisted of nearly 400 people, were obliged to perform a journey of several hundred miles through a wilderness, under great sufferings and difficulty, to seek a shelter among the brethren of their own society in the states of Ohio and Kentucky. Their damage and loss, which consisted mostly in grain, cattle, and other articles of provision, consumed and taken away by the army, exclusive of what was paid for, was supposed to exceed $10,000; the whole of which was borne without assistance from any other source than the people of our own denomination."

Is such the *justice* and *humanity* of Christian warriors towards their fellow citizens? Would the savages in that region have treated the peaceful Shakers in such a manner, knowing their principles?

The second of the three Tracts is entitled "Thoughts on the practical advantages of those who hold the doctrines of Peace over those who vindicate War, addressed to those who follow peace with all men."

The third is entitled "Observations on the Kingdom of Peace, under the reign of the Messiah."

The latter has just arrived, and from a note contained in it I am now authorized to state what was alluded to in p. 15, where it is said that the Massachusetts Peace Society is not the only one in this country. The two pamphlets just mentioned were published by "the Peace Society in New York."

They are a valuable addition to the number of PEACE PAMPHLETS in our country. They were both communicated to the society in the form of address, and printed at their request.

The first of these displays the advantages which naturally result to individuals from cordially adopting the gospel sentiments of peace. The other gives a concise view of some predictions relating to the peace of the world under the reign of Messiah, and the means by which the "glorious events are to be accomplished." In each of these tracts an amiable peace spirit is both displayed and recommended.

Since the preceding paragraphs were written, two other publications have been presented. One of them may be denominated an *antipeace publication.* This will perhaps claim some attention in a future Number.

The other is entitled "Observations on the natural and constitutional rights of Conscience, in relation to military requisitions on the people called Shakers." The pamphet bears date "Watervliet, Feb. 20, 1816." Its object is to support a Memorial from the Society of Shakers to the legislature of New York, pleading for "an exemption from military requisitions,"—in other words, that they may not be compelled to *pay fines* for obeying the dictates of their own consciences in refusing to bear arms. The reasoning in the pamphlet is ingenious, mild, and forcible. It is believed that the members of the New York legislature are too intelligent to be capable of reading the publication "steadily through," without being convinced, that justice and humanity are both in favor of granting the "exemption," requested by the Memorial. The pamphlet is concluded in this impressive language;—"Can the government be unwilling to allow the only privilege we ever asked of it, and that too a privilege which we never should have asked, but for conscience' sake?"

END.

THE FRIEND OF PEACE.

No. V.

REVIEW OF MILITARY MARTYRDOM.

THE custom of war embraces a multitude of delusions, by which its popularity has been supported. One of these will now be examined.

It is a common thing to speak of those who have died in battle as *martyrs*, who gloriously sacrificed their lives for the good of their country—for its religion, its liberty, its independence, or its glory. By thus praising military men who perish in war, others are flattered and excited to hazard their own lives, in the hope of renown.

The delusive idea of dying as martyrs for the good of their country, and of fame for the sacrifice, is, perhaps, one of the most common and most powerful motives with military men; and it is one which uniformly accompanies war. That this is a delusion, may appear from the following considerations:—

First. It is an idea which operates on both sides of a military contest; on the part of the aggressor, as well as on the part of the defender. The military men on each side consider themselves as fighting for the good of their country. The officers on each side excite the soldiers to desperate enterprises, by reminding them of the crown and glory of martyrdom, if they shall fall in battle. After the battle is over, the friends of the slain are reminded of the honours of martyrdom, achieved by such heroes.

Now let these facts be compared with another idea, which is generally admitted by Christians of the present age, namely, that *aggressors in war are murderers.* To escape this terrible censure, each party in war claims the honour of being on the *defensive* side, and reproaches the other as the *aggressor.* But it is certain that one or the other is an aggressor. And it is possible and probable, that each becomes an aggressor in the course of the war. Indeed in most cases of war, it may be impossible for the soldiers on either side to tell which government was the *first* aggressor, or which is most in fault. Yet on both sides the honour of martyrdom is claimed, while, according to an acknowledged principle, on one side, if not on both, the war is strictly *murderous.*

Men who make war for conquest, plunder or fame, instead of being praised for their exploits, deserve to be branded with infamy; for no kind of robbery or murder, is more to be abhorred.

Second. Let the conduct of these supposed martyrs be compared with that of the Prince of Peace, and we shall have a still more perfect idea of the delusion. The Messiah *laid down his life* for the benefit of others; he "died the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God." But did he die like these military martyrs, exerting himself to destroy as many of his foes as possible? Did he die "breathing out threatening and slaughter," and heaping death and misery on others, to revenge the injuries he had received?

No, verily; he was meek, inoffensive, and unresisting as a lamb. Instead of spreading around him slaughter and misery, and exulting in the mischiefs he had occasioned to others, he prayed for his insulting murderers; "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." Thus he suffered, "leaving us an example that we should follow his steps."

Is it not then evident, that not only on *one* side, but on *both*, there is the most perfect delusion, when those who die *fighting* are praised as *martyrs*.

Third. If we consider the *moral character*, of many of those who are praised as military *martyrs*, the delusion will appear in a still stronger light.

How many men, whose vices rendered them infamous while at home, and even a burden and a reproach to community, have joined an army, and fallen in battle. Yet, without any change of character, except for the worse, have they not been praised as *martyrs?* Nay, have not such vicious characters been exhibited as *examples* worthy of imitation? Have not posterity been called upon to remember them with respect, and to emulate their GLORIOUS DEEDS!

Thus bloody men, whose vices would have soon destroyed them, had they not died in battle, have been represented as *martyrs*, as followers of the meek and benevolent Saviour of men, who gave his own life "to redeem us from all iniquity, and to purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works!" Is it possible to form a more perfect contrast of characters than we now have before us, or to name a more consummate delusion?

Fourth. The word *martyr* originally signified *witness*. Our Saviour was the faithful and true martyr or witness. The term was applied to his apostles, who were *chosen witnesses* of what Jesus did and said, and of his resurrection. But as bearing witness for him exposed men to suffering, the word was afterwards used to signify, such as *suffered for their testimony* in the cause of Christ. According to Walker, its present meaning is, "One who, by his death, bears witness to the truth."

Now what is the "truth," to which military martyrs bear witness, when they die, in attempts to kill their brethren? They indeed bear witness to one deplorable "truth,"

namely, that professed followers of Christ have adopted maxims of conduct in direct hostility to the gospel of peace!

Had the avowed enemies of the Christian religion employed all their ingenuity, to invent a plan to defeat the design of the gospel, and to bring the character and religion of the Messiah into disrepute, what could they have devised more adapted to such an end, than to persuade Christians themselves, to applaud vicious and bloody men, as *martyrs* and as *followers* of the "Captain of our salvation?"

But to prevent misapprehension, it may be necessary to observe, that I am far from being disposed to ascribe to *all* military men a *vicious character*. That many who have been honoured as martyrs have been eminently vicious, I believe to be a lamentable and undeniable truth. Yet I doubt not, that many good persons have exposed and sacrificed their lives in war. Still I think, that had such men been correctly informed, as to the nature of war and its opposition to the gospel, they would have chosen to die as the Saviour did, praying for their enemies, rather than in attempts to destroy them. In this article, my object has been to expose one of the delusions which accompanies war, and which tends to hurry the wicked down to perdition; and not to vilify the virtuous, who have been misled by the influence of education and custom. *War* and *persecution* I regard as similar delusions. Both of them have given scope to the vilest passions of the wicked; and both have misled many virtuous men to do things, which an enlightened conscience cannot approve.

REVIEW OF THE CASE STATED BY MR. JEFFERSON.

In the letter published in the last number, Mr. Jefferson stated the case of our late war with Great Britain, as one

which claimed my "consideration in a discussion of the general question, whether any degree of injury will render a recourse to war expedient."

In complying with his suggestion, I shall adopt his statement of the case, as "a possible case," and shall imitate his example so far, as neither to "affirm nor deny the truth of these allegations." Nor shall I pretend that we had not as good ground for war, as has been common either in ancient or modern times. Indeed I believe we had as good reasons for making war, as have been usually found by war makers of other nations.

The case, as stated by Mr. Jefferson, is concisely this—"That Great Britain took from us before the late war 1,000 vessels, and that during the war we took from her 1,400—that before the war she seized and made slaves of 6,000 of our citizens, and that in the war we killed more than 6,000 of her subjects, and caused her to expend such a sum as amounted to 4 or 5000 guineas a head for every slave she made. She might have purchased the vessels she took for less than the value of those she lost, and used the 6,000 of her men killed, for the purposes to which she applied ours —have saved the 4 or 5,000 guineas a head, and obtained a character of justice, which is as valuable to a nation as to an individual. These considerations, therefore, leave her without inducement to plunder property, and take men in future on such dear terms."

It is presumed that no unprejudiced person will say, that this statement of the case is not as favourable on the part of the United States, as it could be made with due respect to truth and to facts; and it is well known, that many will regard the statement as incorrect in some particulars. But this is the "possible case," which Mr. Jefferson thought would "claim my attention."

The immorality and antichristian nature of war, is not now the subject of discussion; but its *policy* or *expediency*, as

it relates to the welfare of a nation. In other words, the question is, whether it be "expedient" for a nation to make war for *such offences* as are supposed in the statement, and for such *advantages* as our nation has derived from the contest?

The loss of Great Britain by the war is probably underrated. The loss of *lives* was, I suspect, more than twice 6,000, including all that perished in consequence of the war, by sea and by land. But this loss of Great Britain is not our gain, in any other sense, than as it may have "left her without inducement to plunder property, and to take men in future on such dear terms."

It would indeed be natural to hope, that the loss of Great Britain by the war, would have the effect supposed, were it not for one deplorable fact, namely—that *warring nations*, like *vicious individuals*, are governed in a great measure by *habit*. We see the famous boxer, with blood streaming from his nose and mouth, and his flesh bruised to a jelly; we see the duellist severely and dangerously wounded; we see the drunkard fall from his horse and taken up half dead; we see the gambler with downcast eyes, because he has lost nearly all his property in one night:—We hope they will all take warning by what has happened to them, and reform their lives. But, alas! their habits are fixed, and perhaps in one month, we shall see each of them pursuing his former road to destruction. Each hopes for better success the next time.

Let the history of warring governments be examined, and inquire, whether this illustration is not as applicable to them as to the vicious individuals. If the gambler obtains an advantage in one game, he is encouraged to risk another, in hope of adding to his ill-gotten wealth—If he loses in one game, he will try again, in hope of recovering what he had lost. In like manner, warring nations of former ages, proceeded till they brought ruin on themselves.

Nor is any thing better to be expected of warring governments of the present age, unless the eyes of people can be opened to see war in its true light. Except something should be done for this purpose, the probability of another war with Great Britain, is, in my opinion, much greater than it would have been at this time, had the last war not occurred.

At any rate, I doubt whether there is a single person concerned in the government of our nation, or a single man of common sense in the land, who would have given his own life for all the *security* that the war has procured to us, against future injuries from the British nation. I indeed hope that the eyes of that nation will be opened to see the evils of war, and that they will refrain from injuring us ; but I have no hope that their *losses* in the war have had, or will have, such an effect. If such should be the effect of the war, it may be regarded as a phenomenon in the history of a powerful, prosperous, and warring nation.

The *security* against a future war between the two nations, which would result from having *two* intelligent and genuine peace characters in the cabinet of each, would be a hundred fold greater, than all that has been produced by the losses of the last conflict.

But there are considerations, which Mr. Jefferson's statement does not embrace, and which he doubtless expected would be brought to view in this examination.

He stated the losses which we occasioned to Great Britain in the war ; but not the losses on our part, or at what loss to ourselves we occasioned such loss to Great Britain.

He stated what is said to be our loss of vessels *before* the war ; but not our loss of vessels *in* the war, which was certainly very great.

He stated the loss of lives on the part of Great Britain ; but not the loss of lives on the part of the United States.

He stated the expense of money, which we occasioned to

Great Britain; but not the expense of money we occasioned to ourselves.

He stated how many of our citizens, it is said, were made slaves of "by the British before the war;" but not how many of our citizens were reduced to a similar kind of slavery by our own government, in consequence of the war.

I have no objection to his applying the term *slave* or *slavery* to the condition of men, doomed to serve in ships of war. Nor should I have objected, had he applied it to the condition of regular troops. My views on this point were expressed in the second Number of this work, in answer to the arguments of Lord Kames.

In determining the question, "whether a recourse to war is expedient," for such injuries as we had received, and for such benefits as we have obtained; the expense and loss to ourselves, by which we obtained the supposed benefit, should certainly be considered; because a thing *may cost* more than it is worth.

Is it then good policy to sacrifice the lives of 10 or 20,000 men, to rescue 6,000 from a state of slavery? Or when 6,000 of our men are reduced to slavery by another nation, is it good policy to reduce as many more to a similar condition, to *revenge* the wrong?

When we have lost 1,000 vessels by the injustice of a foreign power, is it good policy to sacrifice fifty times their value, to show that we are men of spirit, and both able and willing to "render evil for evil?"

Or is it sound policy to sacrifice so many lives, so much property, and to reduce so many of our fellow citizens to a condition as bad as slavery, for the precarious advantage of leaving a proud and powerful nation, "without inducement to plunder property, and take men in future on such dear terms?"

As the sin and misery on our part, in having recourse to war, was omitted in Mr. Jefferson's statement, so they have been in a great measure omitted in this review. But, if to the considerations already mentioned, we add the antichristian nature of war as a mode of seeking a redress of wrongs, the guilt incurred by the measure adopted, the depravation of character, occasioned to many thousands of our citizens, the sufferings and anxiety of the multitude who were reduced to poverty, the loss of lives, and the distress of mourners, whose friends fell in the war, or perished by the diseases of the camp, and the pains and agonies of the thousands of wounded men; these several items, when duly estimated, will swell to an enormous amount the price, at which we obtained the solitary benefit mentioned by Mr. Jefferson.

One thing more deserves serious consideration. Had we adopted the pacifick principles of the gospel, or had we exercised long-suffering but a few weeks more, we should have known that the avowed cause of the war had been removed, the endless detail of evils which resulted to both nations from the conflict, would have been avoided, and the two nations might have been on terms of amity during the whole period, that their fleets and armies were employed in destroying one another.

When all these things shall have been weighed in an even balance, Mr. Jefferson and many others, will agree with me in the opinion, that we bought the solitary and precarious benefit, supposed to be gained by the war, on as "dear terms," as Great-Britain purchased the "1,000 vessels" and the "6,000 slaves."

This review, however, of the case of the late war would have been avoided, had it not been recommended by the respectable authority of Mr. Jefferson, as important "in a discussion of the general question, whether any degree of

injury will render a recourse to war expedient." The result is probably such as he anticipated. In the review, I have admitted his statement of alleged facts; and have added none but what I think he will admit as correct. It has been my aim to avoid all censorious reflections, and to examine the subject aside from all party considerations and party purposes. For it is not my wish to reproach or injure any party, or class of men; but, if possible, to convince all my fellow citizens, that the path of true wisdom is the path of PEACE, and that it is for the honour and interest of nations, as well as of individuals, to adopt the pacifick maxims of the Christian religion, and to extol no other wisdom in preference to that "which is from above."

To make a more perfect estimate and comparison of the *loss* and *gain* by the late war, either to Great-Britain or the United States, it behoves individuals of each nation to take into view the *value* of *life*, and the *worth* of *immortal souls*, capable of endless happiness or misery.

Let every ruler, and every reflecting Christian sit down, and make out a candid estimate of the value of his *own life*, and his *own soul*, or state the *price* at which he would consent to *lose* them. In the next place, let him consider how many lives were probably sacrificed by the war, and how many souls were probably "hurried into eternity, in an unprepared state." Then take the estimated value of his own life and his own soul, and multiply it by the total of the lives and souls which were probably lost by the war, and set the product against the sum of the *real gain*, which has resulted to both nations from the contest. Having proceeded thus far, let him reflect on this result, as becomes a rational and accountable being. Will he not exclaim, in the language of the Saviour, "What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul! Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul!" Will he

not also add—Of all the delusions that ever afflicted the human family, war is the most bewildering, and the most fatal!

If such should be the effect of counting the cost of war, let each individual, while under these solemn convictions and impressions, adopt the following magnanimous resolution:

'Never again will I employ my influence in favour of making war, till I am as willing to lose my own life and soul, in a bloody contest, as I am to expose thousands of my brethren, each of whom has a life and a soul as important to himself, as mine are to me; nor until I am fully satisfied, that the real profits of a proposed war, would be of more worth than *all* the *lives* and *souls* which would probably be sacrificed, estimating those of each of my brethren at the same rate as I value my own.'

It is believed that no ruler, who is not as unprincipled as an atheist, can pretend, that such a resolution would be either unchristian or unreasonable; and that no minister of religion, who loves his neighbour as himself, or who has such a regard for the souls of men, as to be worthy of his office, can adopt the resolution, and still appear as an advocate for war.

REVIEW OF SOME PASSAGES IN DR. M'LEOD'S "FIVE DISCOURSES" ON THE LATE WAR.

In the time of the late war, Dr. M'Leod published "Five Discourses," entitled "A scriptural view of the character, causes, and ends of the present war." The Discourses are written with ability, and not a little of that kind of eloquence which is common in war speeches. The work has been presented, as affording a proper subject for

review. But, on examination, I could not but apprehend some danger; for I am convinced, that the *war spirit* is a *contagious disease*, which may be communicated by books written under its influence; and that it may be displayed in controversial writings as really as in a field of battle. For this reason, I must be excused from a very close and particular examination of the Five Discourses. The principal pillars, however, of the war system may be examined.

No attempt will be made in this review, to vindicate the warring character of Great-Britain, which was so much the theme of the Doctor's declamation. I both lament and abhor this trait in the character of Great-Britain, as well as in other nations. What she regards as her glory, is really her disgrace, as a *Christian* power, and it may eventually prove her ruin. Nor shall I attempt any apology for that conduct in the British government, which was made the ground of complaint by our own. It will not be as an advocate for Great-Britain that I shall write, but as an advocate for Christian principles, and Christian practice; and I hope that nothing will find a place in my remarks, which shall be injurious to the author of the Discourses. If he is in an errour on this important subject, he will be the gainer, should I be able to convince him of his mistake. This benefit it will be my aim to confer; and, in the attempt, I shall have nothing to do with his religion or his politicks, except as they relate to war.

I shall, in the first place, exhibit some passages from the Discourses, which I cordially approve:

"War is an evil. It is a school of vice; it is a nursery of debauchery. By it, cities are sacked, and countries laid waste. The dearest ties of kindred are unloosed; fathers made childless, children fatherless, and wives converted into widows. You see, brethren, some of its pernicious effects in this city; and you feel and lament the evil. You hear of greater evils in other parts of our land, during the short period since war has upon our part existed. You deprecate the calamity.

You regret the policy which led to such a state of things. You are tempted to call in question entirely, the *legitimacy* of war. It is not surprising you should. What more cruel and less congenial with the spirit of the gospel? But England is scarcely ever at peace." p. 96.

"Do you deny the lawfulness of war in any case? So let it be. I shall join with you for the time, in deprecating its numerous evils. It flows from the malevolent passions; and it encourages and strengthens the vicious passions from which it flows. It arrests the progress of improvement in society. It impoverishes countries, and lays waste the cities of the nations. It exposes to temptations and corrupts the youth. It exposes to danger and to death. It hurries into eternity, in an unprepared state, thousands of our thoughtless fellow-sinners, who might otherwise have had time and space for repentance." p. 150.

Is it not astonishing, that with such views of the crimes and calamities of war, a minister of a peaceful religion could become an advocate for an appeal to arms, on a paltry question of "property," or "national honour?" Is it possible, on any principles of reason or religion, to justify a course of conduct which "flows from *malevolent passions*," establishes "a school of vice," "a nursery of debauchery;" a course by which "the dearest ties of kindred are unloosed, fathers made childless, children fatherless, and wives converted into widows;" which "arrests the progress of improvement, impoverishes countries,"—"corrupts the youth,"—"exposes to temptations,"—"to danger and death,"—and "hurries into eternity, in an unprepared state, thousands of our thoughtless fellow-sinners, who might otherwise have had time and space for repentance."

"But," says the Doctor, "England is scarcely ever at peace." "Her guilt is of older date. It is of greater extent. It is of longer duration." Be it so; the more is her government to be blamed, and her subjects to be pitied; but shall we, therefore, follow her guilty example, and pursue the road to destruction?

May I not appeal to the conscience and feelings of Dr. M'Leod, and ask,—At what rate, or by what standard, does

he estimate the *crimes* and *woes*, or the *lives* and *souls* of his fellow beings, while, with such convictions of the "malevolent" source, and dreadful effects of war, he avows himself as an advocate for the savage and horrid custom?

Is he a husband and a father? If so, for what amount of "property" or "national honour," would he consent to be made "childless," or to have his children made "fatherless," and his wife "converted into a widow," by the *murders* of war? For what amount of "property" or "national honour," would he consent that his children, or himself, should be "hurried into eternity, in an unprepared state," by the custom for which he pleads? Do his feelings recoil, when the horrours of war are thus brought home to himself and his family. Let him then learn to feel for others.

But, says the Doctor, "I plead in behalf only of *defensive warfare*." Yet he has given a definition of defensive war, which will perhaps justify every publick war which has occurred since the murder of Abel, and every war which will occur to the end of time. The following is his extraordinary language:—

"My definition of defensive war is, *The application of force by one Commonwealth to another, for the purpose of preventing or redressing actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted.*

"As to the *equity* of the war, little depends upon the magnitude of the injury. This consideration will, of course, determine its *expediency*. If the evil inflicted be small, there is less excuse, upon the part of the aggressor, for persisting in it at the risk of an appeal to arms. He is not entitled to impunity, on account of its being unimportant, provided it be a violation of right. It is for the offended party to judge of the proper measure of his own patience under suffering, and of the time and place, in which it is expedient for him to seek redress. Although the injury be only about to be inflicted, he may justly apply force to prevent it: a declaration of war previous to actual hostility, entitles the other to commence hostilities; and actions, which amount to a declaration, give the same right." p. 127.

Could the most rash and unprincipled war-maker wish for greater latitude, or a more unlimited license, than is here given by a minister, whose professional business is, to *preach* PEACE *by Jesus Christ*, to beseech sinners to become reconciled unto God, and to love one another, as Christ has loved them?

It is hardly possible that two nations can have intercourse for a single year, but one or the other will think he has cause of complaint, of "actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted." If either *thinks* he has cause for complaint, and adopts the Doctor's principle, he will *think* he has just cause to *make* a "*defensive war.*" Thus, for one reproachful and petulant remark, or an injury in property to the amount of ten cents, a course may be adopted which will involve two nations in a bloody and ten years' conflict; fill each country with every species of crime and misery, and "hurry into eternity" a hundred thousand "thoughtless sinners, in an unprepared state." In addition to this, the war may "corrupt the youth" of both nations, and confirm myriads of fellow beings in habits of irreligion and vice, from which they may never be recovered, and which they may be the instruments of transmitting to their children, and to unborn posterity.

This is not all. If wars may be lawfully made on the Doctor's principle, they may, on the same principle, be as interminable as the existence of nations; for there never was a war, which did not multiply "actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted." We have now far more reason for such a complaint against Great-Britain, than we had the moment when the last war commenced: and the people of Great-Britain have ground to affirm the same, in respect to the injuries we inflicted on them during the war. The peace has made no reparation for the "actual injuries inflicted" by either nation on the other. Therefore, on the

Doctor's principle, each of the two nations might to day lawfully commence a "defensive war." This, however, would but multiply the "actual injuries," and increase the grounds of complaint on both sides: And thus, for as good reasons as the last war was commenced, the two nations may now begin another contest, and prolong it, till one or the other shall be totally exterminated.

The Doctor has, however, one saving and astonishing paragraph:

"In the application of force to the correction of injury, reason ought to guide; and if the force to be applied, is obviously inadequate to the object, it is in vain to make the application. It is madness to attempt to remove mountains by human agency; and it is criminal to risk treasure and life, by engaging in a bloody warfare, without prospect of any success. In such a case, although cause of war exists, it is better to suffer than to contend. Upon this principle, those directions which are given in scripture, and which some have mistaken for a prohibition of resistance in any case, are to be understood. Upon this principle the martyrs acted, *taking joyfully the spoiling of their goods*, and passively submitting, under a righteous providence, to an injustice which they had no power to control. They suffered without resistance, because resistance would have only augmented the measure of their pains. This was right. It was what was required of them by their God." p. 120.

In page 103 the Doctor says, "Lawful war is defensive with a rational prospect of success."

Remark 1. Let us be thankful, that this writer was enabled to discern one case in which war would not be lawful, even when "actual injuries" have been "inflicted." Perhaps the principle on which the exception was made, may be extended to *other* cases, and even to *all* cases. If it be "criminal to risk treasure and life, by engaging in a bloody warfare, without prospect of *any* success," is it not criminal to risk them in any case, except there is a "prospect" of such "success," that the amount of gain will overbalance all the losses which may reasonably be antici-

pated? A candid and enlightened mind will not answer this question in the negative. In what war, then, has the gain overbalanced the loss, except in the view of those with whom *lives* and *souls*, and the *sufferings of common people*, go for *nothing*, or are accounted as *cyphers*? Suppose the result of our last war could have been perfectly foreseen; was there a man of serious reflection, either in Great-Britain or the United States, who would have given his own soul, or even his life, for the sum total of all the benefits which the two nations have gained by the war? Besides, when it shall be duly considered, who are the gainers, and who are the sufferers by war, something will occur which must be revolting to every honest mind. For not only is all the gain of one nation by the sufferings of another, but the gainers by a war are, as often as otherwise, those who were the real aggressors or offenders; and the sufferers are generally those who had no concern in making the war. When all this shall be duly considered, who that has a spark of honesty, or Christian compassion in his breast, can plead for war? Admit, then, that in a case of "actual injury," there is a "prospect of *some* success" in making war, by destroying or distressing such people of another nation, as had no hand in the injury done; who, that has not the heart of a *savage*, would be willing to revenge the wrong of a wicked ruler on his unoffending subjects?

Remark 2. The principle of martyrdom, exhibited in the paragraph now under review, is too extraordinary to be passed over in silence. "Upon *this* principle the martyrs acted." Upon *what* principle? The principle is this, that "it is criminal to risk treasure and life by engaging in a bloody warfare, without prospect of any success." "They suffered without resistance, because resistance would have only augmented the measure of their pains!" May not then the most abandoned and unprincipled war-

maker or murderer suffer as a martyr, without any change of temper or principle?

But was *this* the principle on which "Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps?" Did he neglect to *fight* and "suffer without resistance, because resistance would have only augmented the measure of *his* pains." Did he forbear an attempt to destroy his enemies, because "the force to be applied was obviously inadequate to the object;" or because those who were against him, were more powerful than those who were for him? If not, is it not presumption in any one of his ministers to encourage *fighting*, on account of "actual injuries," whenever it can be done "with a reasonable prospect of success?"

Remark 3. This writer has not only given us a *new* principle of martyrdom, but he has ventured to say, "upon this principle those directions which are given in scripture, and which some have mistaken for a prohibition of resistance in any case, are to be understood." If this doctrine be true, it is time that its truth should be made to appear. If it be untrue, it is time that its falsity should be exposed. The best method which now occurs to try the principle is, to attach it to those "directions" which have been supposed to forbid "wars and fightings." If the principle be correct, a text cannot be injured by annexing the principle to it, as a *condition*, *limitation*, or *explanation*. This method will therefore be adopted with a serious desire, that every reader may have a fair opportunity to judge for himself, whether the passages "are to be understood" in the limited sense for which the Doctor contends. A few examples may be sufficient to test the principle.

1. "Ye have heard that it was said, Eye for eye, and tooth for tooth: but I say unto you, resist not the injurious"*—*unless you can do it "with a rational prospect of success."*

* Matt. v. 38, 39. Campbell's translation.

2. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, love your enemies"*—*when "the force to be applied" to destroy them "is obviously inadequate to the object."*

3. "Recompense to no man evil for evil"†—*except you can do it without great danger of "augmenting the measure of" your own "pains."*

4. "If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men"—*except in cases when you can make a "defensive war" with an "adequate force," for "actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted."*

5. "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves"—*unless you can attempt revenge with an "adequate force," for "it is criminal to risk treasure and life, by engaging in a bloody warfare, without prospect of any success."*

6. "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good"—*in all cases, except when there is a "rational prospect of success," in an attempt to overcome* EVIL *with* EVIL.

Is the reader shocked with such *additions* or *limitations* to the precepts of the gospel? So is the writer. Nor would he, for all the treasures of the universe, have made them, as expressive of his own views, or with an intention to have the commands so understood by his brethren. Yet, if these additions or limitations do not comport with the principle of martyrdom, and the principle of interpretation, assumed by Dr. M'Leod, the writer has totally misapprehended the meaning of the passage under review.

But if the explicit commands, prohibiting retaliation or revenge, and enjoining a meek, forbearing, pacifick, and benevolent spirit, may be so qualified, as to give full scope to

* Matt. v. 43, 44.

† For this and the following texts, see Rom. xii. 17, 18, 19—21.

the malignant passions which they were designed to restrain and subdue; so may every other precept of the law or the gospel.

The commands, "Thou shalt do no murder; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness,"—may all with equal ease be qualified or set aside. On the principle assumed by Dr. M'Leod, we may say of these commands, that they prohibit *murder*, *adultery*, *stealing*, and *perjury*,—except in certain cases of powerful excitement and strong temptation,—and except, also, when these acts may be committed without great danger of detection, or of augmenting the measure of our own pains. Then every man is left to judge, in his own case, of the degree of excitement, the strength of temptation, and the danger of detection, or the probability of bringing evil on himself. And, with as much propriety as the Doctor makes his distinction between *national* and *individual* revenge, he may make another between national and individual murder, adultery, theft, and perjury; and thus authorize a whole nation, or *at least its rulers and soldiers*, to indulge in the crimes which are prohibited to *every individual*.

On the same principle also, "the first and great commandment—Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,"—and "the second, which is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" may both be reduced to a level with the desires, propensities, and passions of irreligious, licentious, and revengeful men.

The Pharisees of our Saviour's time were accused by him, of making the word of God of no effect by their traditions. Should a similar charge be exhibited by him against the warring Christians of the present age, on what ground will they "be able to stand?"

Much has been written and said on the "corruptions of Christianity." But those "corruptions" that relate to abstract or metaphysical questions, and which do not affect Christian love and obedience, are unimportant in their consequences, when compared with those which change the character of Christian precepts, and authorize a *temper* and *practice*, the reverse of his who was the "Light of the world." If there be any thing in the Christian religion which may be called *essential*, it is the *spirit* which was exemplified by the "Author and Finisher of our faith." Where this is lacking, there may be professions, and forms, and ceremonies without number, and zeal without knowledge or any reasonable bounds; but there can be nothing which deserves the name of "pure and undefiled religion." And of all the "corruptions of Christianity" which have ever yet been detected, those are the most fatal and the most to be deplored, which authorize sanguinary customs, hostile passions, violence, war, and revenge.

REVIEW OF DR. M'LEOD'S ARGUMENT FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A candid writer will fairly meet the arguments opposed to his theory. If they are formidable, or even plausible, he will not affect to treat them as insignificant, or unworthy of an answer.

The following paragraph contains a summary of the argument from the Old Testament, in favour of the lawfulness of war among Christians. The statement is perspicuous and forcible; and this argument has probably been more perplexing to reflecting Christians, than any other. It will, therefore, be my aim to state it fairly, and to examine it impartially.

"Man is *essentially* the same through all generations. God is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. The image of God on the soul of man is at all times and places of the same character. Precepts, the reason of which is laid in changeable circumstances, cease or change with the occasion; but principles founded upon permanent and immutable relations, are unalterable. Although men should now pretend to more holiness than was possessed by Abraham, by David, by Samuel, by Nehemiah; this, however great the assumption upon their part, would not justify their denial of the right of war, unless they could at the same time show, that human nature is not now what it was, or that God, the Lawgiver, has undergone mutation, both of nature and of will. If holiness now is the same as ever, then is war as lawful as formerly: for that it cannot have been forbidden by him who once authorized it, is evident from the fact, that there is no reason for a change of law, as well as from the necessity of its legitimacy, if society be not entirely dissolved." p. 112.

Such is the argument from the laws and facts recorded in the Old Testament, in connexion with the immutability of God. In reply, the following remarks will be submitted:

First. I am not disposed to deny the lawfulness of any war, which is expressly commanded by God, whether it be *defensive* or *offensive*. But I may deny that a special command or permission of God, in a particular case and to a particular people, will authorize another people, under different circumstances, to make war without such a command or permission. Some of the wars of the Israelites, which were authorized by God, were strictly *offensive*. Yet Christians in general of this age are ready to admit, that offensive war is unlawful and murderous. Even Dr. M'Leod himself has said, "I plead only for *Defensive War*." But if he may plead for war among Christians, on the ground that God authorized the Israelites to make war, he may as safely plead for offensive as defensive wars. Therefore, his argument proves too much to comport with his own principles, or it proves nothing.

Second. If we may plead for war among Christians, from the special commands of God to the Israelites, we may not only infer the lawfulness of wars *defensive* and *offensive*, but also wars of *extermination*. For thus said the Lord to the children of Israel,—"But of the cities of these people which the Lord thy God giveth thee, *Thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth.*" Deut. xx. 16.

Now would Dr. M'Leod, or any other Christian of this age, justify rulers in making and conducting a war on this principle? If not, let him beware of the danger of inferring from the writings of Moses, the lawfulness of *any* war, which is not authorized by the special command of Jehovah.

Third. Whatever difficulty the subject may involve, it is a fact not to be concealed, that the Mosaick code embraced many laws in which the penalty for transgression was *death;* —some of which no Christian nation feels authorized to adopt, and which could not be now adopted in our land, without filling the hearts of intelligent Christians with grief and horrour. A few of these laws will be exhibited:

1. "He that smiteth his father or his mother, shall surely be put to death." Exodus xxi. 15.

2. "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." v. 16.

3. "He that curseth his father or his mother, shall surely be put to death." v. 17.

4. "If an ox gore a man or a woman that they die—if the ox were wont to push with his horn in time past, and it hath been testified to his owner, and he hath not kept him in, but that he hath killed a man or a woman; the ox shall be stoned, and his owner also shall be put to death." v. 28, 29.

5. "Whosoever doeth any work on the sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death." Ch. xxxi. 15.

6. "The adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death." Lev. xx. 10.

7. "And the daughter of any priest, if she profane herself by playing the whore, she profaneth her father: she shall be burnt with fire." Ch. xxi. 9.

8. "He that blasphemeth the name of the Lord, he shall surely be put to death." Ch. xxiv. 16.

9. Respecting any one among the people who should be found guilty of *idolatry*, it is written—"Then shalt thou bring forth that man or that woman—and shalt stone them with stones till they die." Deut. xvii. 2—5.

10. "If a man have a stubborn and rebellious son, which will not obey the voice of his father, or the voice of his mother, and that when they have chastened him, will not hearken unto them; then shall his father and his mother lay hold on him and bring him out unto the elders of his city, and unto the gate of his place; and they shall say unto the elders of his city, This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a glutton and a drunkard: and all the men of his city shall stone him with stones that he die." Ch. xxi. 18—21.

11. "Therefore it shall be that when the Lord hath given thee rest from all thine enemies round about—*that thou shalt blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; thou shalt not forget it.*" Ch. xxv. 19.

Now will Dr. M'Leod pretend, that a special command from the Author of life, would not be necessary to justify a Christian people in adopting such laws and imitating such examples? But if these laws may not be adopted, and these examples imitated by Christians, his argument from the Old Testament is irrelevant and inconclusive.

These laws cannot be evaded by the pretext, that they were not of a *moral nature*, but *ceremonial* or *indifferent*. For those which related to the conduct of individuals, implied prohibitions of *immoral* conduct, enforced with awful penalties. These penalties were, by the special command of God, made exceptions to the general law, THOU SHALT NOT KILL. In this respect they stood on the same ground, as the commands to make war; and nothing short of the special command of God could authorize a departure from the general law in either of the cases.

By the last of the injunctions a nation was to be exterminated, for an offence, which had been committed about fort

years prior to the date of the command; and about three hundred and sixty years after the command was given by Moses, it was revived by Samuel the prophet, and made the ground of the following injunction to King Saul:—"Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." 1 Sam. xv. 3.

Should Dr. M'Leod be disposed to prove, that Christian nations ought to inflict capital punishments for every offence which was thus to be punished by the laws of Moses—that it is right for Christians to invade and exterminate heathen nations, and to retaliate an injury, by exterminating a *whole nation*, four hundred years after the offence had been committed, and three centuries after the real offenders have all been dead and buried; he may again repeat his argument in all its parts and with all its force: "Man is *essentially* the same through all generations. God is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever, &c."—For if his argument will justify Christians in making war, it will justify them in adopting every law, and in imitating every example which has been mentioned.

From the facts which have been stated, is it not evident, that the advocates for war have as great difficulties to encounter, as the advocates for peace, in an attempt to reconcile their own views with the laws and customs under the Mosaick dispensation? If the doctrine, that war is unlawful for Christians, may be said to imply, that "God, the Lawgiver, has undergone mutation, both of nature and of will," so do many other doctrines, which are as common to the friends of war, as to the friends of peace. Nor is it less incumbent on the former than the latter, to investigate some mode of reconciling their opinions with the doctrine of divine immutability. May it not then be hoped, that both classes will attend to the inquiry with candour, and with a

sincere desire to know the truth, and to conform to the will of a benevolent God?

Clearly to perceive *all* the reasons, why some laws and usages of a *moral nature*, were binding on the Israelites, which are incompatible with the duty of Christians, while God is the same, requires perhaps a more extensive knowledge of the state of mankind in the days of Moses, and of the various purposes which were to be answered by the laws and customs ordained at Sinai, than is now possessed by any human being. It would therefore be both folly and arrogance in me, to pretend to a perfect knowledge of the case, or to attempt an explanation of all the difficulties it may involve. I may however suggest some thoughts, which may be useful to those who have not examined the subject, and who shall be disposed to pursue the inquiry.

First. There is a striking contrast between the laws of Moses and the precepts of the Messiah, as to the mode of enforcing obedience. Promises of temporal good, and threatenings of temporal evils, were continually employed by Moses, as motives to obedience; and seldom if ever did he urge the retributions of a future state. The Messiah, on the contrary, almost uniformly enforced his precepts by the retributions of eternity.

If we could clearly discern all the reasons, why God, at different periods, adopted such different modes of enforcing obedience, we should perhaps be able to account for the laws of Moses, which appear to Christians of a severe and sanguinary character. But if the change in the manner of enforcing obedience, does not imply that "God, the Lawgiver, has undergone mutation both of nature and of will," neither does the doctrine that making war is prohibited to Christians by the precepts of the gospel.

Second. That the gospel covenant is more perfect than the Mosaick, no intelligent Christian will deny. "For if the

first covenant had been faultless, then no place would have been sought for the second." "But Christ is a Mediator of a better covenant, which was established on better promises." He was emphatically the LIGHT of the world; and the light by him as far surpasses the light by Moses, as the light of the sun exceeds that of the moon. Yet all the light by Moses, and by the Messiah, proceeded from the same source.—"The Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness neither shadow of turning."

Third. It was the duty of the Israelites to walk before God, according to the light and precepts by Moses; and Christians are under as great obligations to walk according to the light and the precepts by Jesus Christ. And we may as rationally ask, why God did not send the Messiah as early as he sent Moses, as why *retaliation of injuries* was permitted to the Israelites, and prohibited to Christians. Let it then be granted, that "Man is *essentially* the same through all generations"—and that "God is the same yesterday, to-day, and forever;" still it is a fact, that the state of society has been changed, the Mosaick covenant has been abolished. Christians are blessed with a more mild and gracious dispensation, and the light which now prevails, far transcends all that was enjoyed prior to the advent of the Messiah. By all that is dreadful in the future punishment of the wicked, and by all that is desirable in a state of endless love and harmony in heaven, Christians are called upon to deny themselves, to subdue every warring and revengeful passion, to exercise one towards another the spirit of meekness, forbearance, forgiveness, and benignity—to be in word and deed, in temper and in practice, the FOLLOWERS of the PRINCE OF PEACE.

As all Christians profess adherence to him as the "Light of the world," "the way, the truth, and the life," let them "so walk even as he walked," and love one another as he

has loved them. Then will Christianity appear in its true light, the havock and horrours of war will be banished from Christendom, and the hands of Christians will no more be stained with human blood.*

A SERIOUS QUESTION PROPOSED.

Suppose the slaves in our southern states should thoroughly imbibe Dr. M'Leod's principles of the lawfulness of making a "defensive war," for any "violation of right," or "actual injury inflicted or about to be inflicted," when it can be done "with a rational prospect of success;" what shall hinder them from slaughtering the whites as soon as "the force to be applied" shall, in *their* view, "be adequate to the object?"

If it be right for white men, to adopt such sanguinary principles, why may not black men imitate their example? If it be right to *encourage* and *excite* white men so to do, and to *support* them in such a course of conduct, why may not the million of blacks, who are held in slavery, be lawfully encouraged and excited to assert their rights by the sword, and be supported in an attempt to emancipate themselves, by murdering those who hold them in bondage? What war has been waged within a thousand years, which was more just, than would be a war of the southern slaves to obtain their freedom?

Do the feelings of our advocates for war revolt at the thought of a *St. Domingo Revolution* in this country? Then let them cease to propagate such murderous princi-

* A Review of Dr. M'Leod's argument from the New Testament was prepared for this Number, but it has been deferred, to give place to the proceedings of the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers.

ples as would justify such a revolution; lest God should cause them to "eat of the fruit of their own way, and to be filled with their own devices."

As much as I lament the condition of the slaves, and as much as I abhor the inhuman principles by which their rights have been violated, I should shudder at the thought of exciting them to adopt the principles of war and revenge. I should advise them still "to suffer wrong, rather than to do wrong." I would advise them to follow the instructions and example of Jesus Christ, rather than to become the disciples of Dr. M'Leod. But if the principles and spirit of war and revenge are still to be cultivated in our land, what better can we reasonably expect, than that the blacks who are held in slavery among a free people, will be formed into a terrifick army by the permission and providence of that "God, to whom vengeance belongeth," and be suffered to distress and destroy their oppressors?

No other means would, in my opinion, be so likely to prevent such an awful calamity, as faithfully to cultivate, both among whites and blacks, the heavenly principles of "peace on earth, and good will toward men." In this way the condition of the slaves might be meliorated, and their emancipation gradually and safely effected.

But if the Christians of this country will persist in upholding the bloody principles and malevolent spirit of war, alas! for the slave-holding States; the day of retribution will assuredly come, and they will be made to feel the enormity of those principles of oppression, retaliation, and revenge, which they have cherished, cultivated, and reduced to practice.

A MINIATURE PICTURE OF WAR.

Colonel A. and Major B. assumed the rank of gentlemen of honour. Each of them had parents living, a wife, several children, and a numerous train of relations and friends. They had dealings, by which Colonel A. became indebted to the Major, and was under promise to pay in sixty days. The time expired, and the payment was neglected. The Major sent for his money, in a tone of complaint and menace. The Colonel was offended, said his honour was impeached, and demanded satisfaction. The Major said he had given no just cause of offence, and would make no concession. The Colonel immediately sent a challenge for a duel, which the Major accepted. The parties met according to appointment, took distance, and fired. The Major fell dead on the spot, and the Colonel was severely wounded. Each was carried home to his family, and their respective connexions came together. The family of the Major was in deep distress and affliction; the family of the Colonel held a feast, and drank toasts in honour of the *glorious victory*.

Now what shall be said of human beings, with the name of *Christians*, who can conduct in this savage manner? Are they sane or insane? But this is war in miniature, excepting that those who made the war fought their own battle, instead of instigating or compelling others to fight for them. Nine tenths of the wars of Christendom have been as perfectly needless, wanton, and unjustifiable, as the duel between the Colonel and the Major. Yet ministers of religion on both sides of a contest could preach, exhort, and pray in support of such murderous insanity, and employ their influence for the destruction of their brethren! What can be more wonderful, more shocking, or more to be deplored! May God grant that the reign of darkness may speedily come to an end, and that all who name the name of Christ, may depart from such abominable iniquity.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CONVENTION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS, MAY, 1816.

In the second number of the Friend of Peace, among other "encouraging facts," it was stated, that the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, had appointed a committee consisting of Rev. Dr. Worcester, of Salem, Rev. Mr. Channing, of Boston, Rev. Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard University, Rev. Mr. Foster, of Brighton, and Rev. Dr. Osgood of Medford—"to consider whether it be expedient for this Convention to adopt any measure, or measures, and if any, what, to correct the publick mind on the subject of war." We have now the pleasure of presenting to our readers a Report of the Committee, and an Address to the publick, as adopted by the Convention.

These, at a future period, will probably be regarded as among the most interesting documents, which ever had their origin in a numerous assembly of the Ministers of religion. They exhibit a union of a large and respectable body of clergymen, in a cause whose importance is not exceeded by any other which it is possible to name,—of ministers too, who, on other questions, are divided in their opinions. Here, then, we have a rare and pleasing example of ministers of religion, entertaining on some points discordant views, laying aside all party passions and prejudices, and with the greatest appearance of cordiality, uniting, as the disciples of the Prince of Peace, to make an impression on the publick mind against the antichristian and desolating custom of war. It is believed that history furnishes no records of the proceedings of any Ecclesiastical Body since the days of the Apostles, more consonant to the spirit of the gospel, more becoming the ministers of Christ, or which have promised greater benefits to the human family. To give place to these important documents, it has been necessary to postpone some agreeable communications.

The proceedings of the Convention as a body, were followed and enforced by an able, eloquent, and impressive sermon,

addressed to the Convention on the subject of war, by Rev. W. E. Channing, of Boston. The description which was given of the miseries, the horrours, and the crimes of war, might well make any Christian tremble at the thought of appearing again as an advocate for such a detestable custom. Happy it would be for the human race, if such views of war could be diffused throughout the world.

Report of a Committee appointed by the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, on the subject of War.

The Committee appointed the last year, "to consider whether it be expedient for this Convention to adopt any measures, and if any, what, to correct the publick mind on the subject of war," have attended that service, and beg leave to report,

That, as war is one of the greatest of human evils, and the popular opinions respecting it are among the most pernicious of human errours, it highly becomes the ministers of the Prince of Peace, and the religious instructors of mankind, to employ their united influence and endeavours for its prevention and abolition. Your Committee have great pleasure in stating, that, since the last meeting of the Convention, an Association has been formed, which takes the name of the Massachusetts Peace Society, and which is already very respectable in numbers and in weight of character. They would, therefore, respectfully recommend, that the members of this Convention should become members of that society; and that they severally use their influence to induce others to become members, and to promote the formation of Auxiliary Peace Societies, in their respective towns or vicinities. Your Committee also beg leave to submit to the Convention an Address to the community at large, on the subject of war, which they have seen fit to prepare for consideration.

By order of the Committee,

S. WORCESTER, *Chairman.*

Boston, *May* 29, 1816.

The Address reported by the above named Committee, and accepted by the Convention.

The Convention of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, impelled by a sense of duty, and solicitous to revive and disseminate the genuine spirit of the gospel, take the liberty of addressing their fellow christians of all denominations, and their fellow-citizens of every

description, on the subject of publick war. In their estimation, no other subject has been more extensively or more radically misapprehended.

The history of past ages combines with the language and practice of modern times, to prove that publick war has too commonly been viewed much in the same light, as the unavoidable convulsions of the natural world, and resorted to with little more conviction of responsibility for its tremendous ravages, than if they were occasioned by hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanoes. Is there not, however, an immense difference in the two cases? Are not the convulsions of the natural world beyond the control of mortal power? And is not war, with all its horrours, the proper fruit of human choice and agency? This difference shows the absolute futility of what is often alleged in vindication of the sanguinary custom,—That, while it sweeps the worthless and vile from the stage of life, it calls dormant genius and enterprise into action, unites divided kingdoms and states, and ends, like the tempest, in a calm, rendered more grateful and salutary by the general agitation. What right has man, a moral being, amenable at the tribunal of heaven for the rectitude of his intentions and pursuits, to "do evil, that good may come?" To hurry thousands of his fellow-creatures into untimely graves, and send them, unprepared, to their last account, under pretence of benefiting survivors? Vain pretence: "for the sword devoureth one as well as another;" and the experience of ages testifies, that the tendency of war is, not to diminish, but to increase the aggregate amount, both of vice and misery.

But were it otherwise; were war productive of all the advantages, which its advocates allege, the question, whether it be compatible with the requisitions of Christianity, would still remain to be solved, before we could have recourse to it, without a crime. And "what saith the scripture" to this question? How do the sacred writers of the Old and New Testaments represent the obligations and the effects of our holy religion, in relation to war? Let them speak for themselves: "In the last days it shall come to pass, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established upon the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and all people shall flow unto it. And many nations shall come and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears

into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Such is the style in which "holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," predicted the nature, tendency, and operation of Messiah's reign. Of the like import was the celestial anthem, at the annunciation of his birth: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." Of the same spirit were his personal instructions. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you: that ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." His instructions were illustrated and enforced by his example. "When he was reviled, he reviled not again, when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously." With his dying breath he interceded for the most impious and cruel of murderers: murderers, whose hands were imbrued in his own blood: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

In exact accordance with these sentiments, instructions and examples, were the lessons inculcated by his inspired apostles: "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst, give him drink. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." "If ye have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth. This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish. For where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work. But the wisdom that is from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy. And the fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace." "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God, love his brother also."

"From whence then come wars and fightings among you? Come they not hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" Pause, brethren, and decide. Is not the true source of war here disclosed? Does not war always spring from the worst passions of our na-

ture? And in its whole progress is it not unfriendly to the meekness, benevolence, and charity, which characterize the heirs of eternal life, and perilous to the souls of men? Surely then, you will not deny your obligations to make every effort in your power, to prevent its recurrence, and to perpetuate the repose and harmony of your country, and of the world.

Have not the people, in every realm of christendom, seen and felt enough to know, that they are sure always to lose by this desperate game? The immediate privations and sufferings of war, numerous and deplorable as they confessedly are, compose but a part of the evils with which it is fraught. Its pernicious consequences are durable. Men, familiarized with the weapons of destruction, and accustomed to assail the persons and possessions of others, do not readily relinquish the impressions and habits of such a career. Cherishing the notions of honour, and the principles of retaliation, by which they have long been governed, they necessarily bring many vices of the camp into the ordinary walks of society.

Hence the frequency of duels, with other disgraceful collisions, which commonly succeed, as well as accompany, publick hostilities; and hence, too, the civil commotions and fatal revolutions which sometimes ensue. There is reason to think that the harshness of behaviour, defect of sympathy, and propensity to give and to take offence, which often mark the intercourse, and impair the satisfaction and benefit of private and domestick life, are promoted by the spirit and temper generated by wars.

Could all the attendant and consequent mischiefs of any one of the countless wars, which blacken the page of history, be concentered to a point, were it possible, at the same moment, to behold, not only the mangled dead and the writhing tortures of the dying; but to witness the bitter weeping and lamentation of the thousands bereaved of husbands, fathers, brothers, and friends; and to survey the wretched multitudes crippled by the loss of limbs, tormented by incurable wounds and diseases, reduced to abject poverty, subjected to uninterrupted discord, plunged into vice, and exposed to endless perdition;—instead of contemplating the event with complacency, or its authors with admiration, you would turn from the one with horrour, and from the other with heartfelt grief. Penetrated with a lively sense of the guilt and misery of war, you would incessantly strive for deliverance from the desolating scourge, under which "the whole creation has groaned and travailed in pain together until now." Unquestionably there is a wide difference between offensive and defensive war. But every war

is offensive, at least on one part; and if offensive war can be prevented, defensive war will of course be superseded.

'But what,' you exclaim, 'can we do, in aid of an achievement so arduous?' You can reprobate and discourage that rancorous animosity, prejudice and jealousy, which are the fuel of war; and without which its destructive flames never were, and never will be enkindled. You can accustom yourselves, and incite others to view the whole human race as brethren, bound to the constant exercise of mutual kindness, forbearance, and love. You can perceive and expose the wickedness imputable to the children of the same divine and beneficent parent, when they envy, provoke, and destroy one another. You can appreciate and portray the many and great advantages, which would flow from the universal observance of that golden rule; "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." In a word, you can "study the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another;"—and these are the most natural and efficient means of accomplishing the design proposed. By these means, you will contribute to diffuse through your respective circles of intercourse, whether more or less extended, that conciliatory disposition which tends, above all things else, to put an end to "the confused noise of battles," and to the agonizing spectacle of "garments rolled in blood:" a disposition, which, spreading in every direction, may, at length, reach and meliorate the policy and condition of all mankind. Yes, brethren; your exertions, however unpromising at their commencement, may eventually extend their benign influence to "principalities and powers," and induce stipulations among them, which shall bring all their differences to an amicable adjustment, without resorting to arms and bloodshed. It is possible that "this generation may not pass away, till all these things shall be fulfilled:" till a new law of nations shall give an opening to better times. Something analagous to such a law of nations, is found in the treaty, which has recently restored tranquillity to our country. In case of disagreement between the parties, the boundary line is to be determined by referring the merits of the cause to an impartial umpire; and his decision is to be final. Now if questions about territory; questions, which as frequently and as justly generate war, as any other, may be honourably settled in this way, where is the impracticability of constituting, by general consent, a Grand Tribunal of Empires, to pass sentence upon all matters in dispute between particular governments.

Another signal event of this auspicious era, adapted to arouse attention, and stimulate activity, is the unexampled compact lately

formed between three of the greatest monarchs of Europe, the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian: a compact, which they solemnly declare has no other object, than "to show, in the face of the universe, their unwavering determination to adopt for the only rule of their conduct, both in the administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, the precepts of the christian religion, the precepts of justice, of charity, and of peace; which, far from being applicable solely to private life, ought, on the contrary, to influence the resolutions of princes, and to guide all their undertakings, as being the best means of giving stability to human institutions, and of remedying their imperfections." Meanwhile, they invite "all powers, who shall wish to profess the sacred principles" which dictated the measure, "and to acknowledge how important it is to the happiness of nations, too long disturbed, that these truths should henceforth exercise upon human destinies all the influence which belongs to them," to join in "this holy alliance." Thus, in the face of the universe, have these three mighty potentates erected the standard of peace, and invited all nations and all people to rally round it, and combine their influence for the permanent tranquillity and happiness of the world. Only let the principles here solemnly proclaimed be universally adopted, and carried into effect; and wars will cease unto the end of the earth, the spear will be cut in sunder, and the chariot will be burned in the fire.

The late tremendous series of conflicts and calamities which have desolated Europe, and terrified the world, seem to have produced an extensive conviction, not only of the direful effects and consequences of war, but also of the unsoundness and iniquity of its principles and maxims. The signs of the times, indeed, seem clearly to indicate the approach of the long looked for period, foretold by prophets and sung by poets, when "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and there shall be none to hurt or destroy." When "the spirit from on high, shall be poured out, and the wilderness shall become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field be esteemed a forest; and judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and in the fruitful field shall reside righteousness; and the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, perpetual quiet and security." The felicities of such a period will be realized; for the word of Jehovah is sure. But before they can be realized, the long nurtured errours in regard to war must be corrected, the passions and the spirit of war must be counteracted and suppressed; and the principles and the spirit of peace must be imbibed and diffused. It is hoped, and with

good reason, that, by the blessing of Heaven, the societies instituted in this, and other countries, for the purpose, will gradually diffuse the purifying light of revelation throughout the earth: And is there less ground to hope, that universal and perpetual peace might be the ultimate effect of similar Associations for the abolition of war? Blessed be God, similar Associations for the abolition of war are already in existence and operation. Beside other movements of the kind in America and Europe, a "Peace Society," to which, among many others, a considerable number of our most enlightened and virtuous civilians belong, has been organized in this Commonwealth; and impressive publications, tending to illustrate and enforce the subject now submitted to your deliberation, have simultaneously issued from numerous pens, on both sides the Atlantick; a subject, to which interest, as well as duty, humanity, as well as religion, urges your most serious attention. "Consider of it, take advice, and speak your minds."

In Convention of Ministers, 29th May, 1816, Dr. Worcester, from the Committee, appointed last year, to consider, whether it is expedient for this Convention to adopt any measure, or measures, and, if any, what, to correct the publick mind on the subject of war, made a report, and read an address to the publick, which the Committee recommended to be published.—Whereupon voted,

That this Address to the community, on the subject of war, be recommitted to Dr. Worcester, Mr. Packard, of Marlborough, and President Kirkland, to be by them revised and published, as containing the sentiments of this Convention.

A true copy from the records,

JOHN PIERCE, *Scribe.*

EXTRACT FROM COWPER.

The groans of nature in this nether world,
Which Heav'n has heard for ages, have an end.
Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung,
Whose fire was kindled at the prophet's lamp:
The time of rest, the promis'd sabbath comes.
Six thousand years of sorrow have well nigh
Fulfilled their tardy and disastrous course
Over a sinful world; and what remains

Of this tempestuous state of human things,
Is merely as the working of a sea
Before a calm, that rocks itself to rest:
For He, whose car the winds are, and the clouds,
The dust that waits upon his sultry march,
When sin hath mov'd him, and his wrath is hot,
Shall visit earth in mercy; shall descend
Propitious in his chariot pav'd with love;
And what his storms have blasted and defac'd
For man's revolt, shall with a smile repair.

LINES FROM COWPER.

But is it fit, or can it bear the shock
Of rational discussion, that a man,
Compounded and made up like other men,
Of elements tumultuous, in whom lust
And folly in as ample manner meet,
As in the bosoms of the slaves he rules,
Should be a despot absolute, and boast
Himself the only freeman of his land?
Should, when he pleases, and on whom he will,
Wage war, with any, or with no pretence
Of provocation given, or wrong sustain'd,
And force the beggarly last doit by means
That his own humour dictates, from the clutch
Of poverty, that thus he may procure
His thousands, weary of penurious life,
A splendid opportunity to die.

ENCOURAGING FACTS.

In addition to the noble stand taken by the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers, and the rapid and extensive circulation of peace pamphlets in our own country, we are enabled to state with confidence, that Peace sentiments are gaining ground in Great Britain. The subject has been taken up and

ably discussed in the Philanthropist, a quarterly periodical work published in London, and we have just received an animating Sermon, preached at Glasgow in January, 1816, on the subject of "Universal Peace." We may add, that, from private letters received in this country, there is reason to believe, that one Peace Society, if no more, has already been formed in England.

A JUST REFLECTION.

"WHEN will a sufficient number of instances have been recorded by the pen of history, of nations harrassing each other by the outrages of war, and after years of havock and bloodshed, when exhausted by exertions beyond their natural strength, agreeing to forget the original subject of dispute, and mutually to resume the station which they occupied at the commencement of the contest? Were subjects wise, what would be their reflections when their rulers, after the most lavish waste of blood, coolly sit down and propose to each other the *status quo ante bellum?*—Happy would it be, could the *status quo* be extended to the widow and the orphan, to the thousands and tens of thousands, who, in consequence of the hardships and accidents of war, are doomed to languish out the remnant of their lives in torment and decrepitude!"

Shepherd's life of Poggio Bracciolini, page 17.

Were it not for the general insanity which accompanies war, it would be reasonable to suppose, that after the sacrifice of several hundreds of millions of property, and "the most lavish waste of blood," the rulers of contending nations—unless they regard their subjects as *idiots*, would wish for some language less known than the *Latin*, in which "to propose to each other," and report to the world, "the *status quo ante bellum.*" For those who understand the language, and are able and willing to reflect, may see, that when peace between two Christian nations is made on these terms, all the expense of blood and treasure goes for nothing, or for what an enlightened posterity will regard as absolutely *worse* than nothing—THE PRAISE OF BEING AS BRAVE TO FIGHT, AS MAHOMETANS, OR PAGANS, OR SAVAGES.

THE END.

THE FRIEND OF PEACE.

No. VI.

PEACE SOCIETIES COMPARED WITH OTHER BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

This is the age of benevolent institutions. No former period will bear any comparison with the present in respect to the origin and establishment of societies, adapted to the improvement of the character and the condition of the human family. Peace societies being of recent origin, their claims to publick regard and patronage have been perhaps but little considered. In comparing them with other institutions, it will not be my aim to disparage or to depreciate the value of any one that will be named. They are all regarded as of useful tendency, and as adapted to aid the cause of Peace. Every institution which tends to the diffusion of useful knowledge, or to excite and cherish sympathetick, humane and benevolent affections, tends to the abolition of war, and to the establishment of peace on earth and good will among men. All benevolent institutions may be regarded as so many sisters, each having a distinct branch of duty to perform for the general good of the family. Like so many sisters of the same family, they should regard each other with complacency and affection, and study to be mutual helpers of each other's joy.

The Peace Society is one of the younger sisters; but when the part assigned her shall be duly considered, she

may be found to possess claims not inferiour to any of the elder members of the family.

HUMANE SOCIETIES.

"The Humane Society is justly considered as an association of philanthropists They evince their benevolence in diffusing a knowledge of the best methods of resuscitating the drowned; in lighting up the beacon to mariners driven before the tempest; in reaching to the wreck the life boat, and in preparing shelter for the sailor cast on the desert island."—*See Christian Disciple, vol.* 3. *p.* 90.

These surely are benevolent objects. Probably hundreds of persons are now living, who are indebted for life, to the efforts of humane societies; and thousands of children have been born of parents who were snatched from the jaws of death by means which these societies devised and prescribed. But how small must be the number of lives which can be saved by the efforts of the Humane Societies, when compared with the number that will be saved by the exertions of Peace Societies, should their efforts be crowned with success! Should they succeed, they will probably save a far greater number from being *drowned*, than ever have been, or ever will be saved by the Humane Societies. What multitudes of our brethren have found their graves in the depths of the ocean by the sinking of ships in naval engagements. The Peace Societies will "evince their benevolence by diffusing a knowledge of the best methods" for preventing people from being thus hurried into eternity.

But the object of the Peace Society extends farther than merely to the saving of people from untimely death by *drowning;* it embraces the saving of men from perishing by the sword or the bayonet, by balls or shells, or by any other implements which human wickedness has invented, for the destruction of the human family. And surely it

cannot be either less important or less humane and benevolent, to devise means to save men from perishing by the hands of each other, than from perishing by the unavoidable occurrences of providence.

SOCIETIES FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF INTEMPERANCE.

"We too," says the Society for Suppressing Intemperance, "by the aid of heaven, hope to *resuscitate the dead;* to restore the almost expiring felo-de-se to his family and friends. It is our office too to light up the beacon to those who are sailing on a deceitful sea, unconscious of their danger, and to furnish the life boat for their escape."

Here again the benevolent mind approves the object, and wishes success. But here also the Peace Society will lose nothing by a comparison of claims. It comes forward in aid of the Society for Suppressing Intemperance, and proposes to abolish or to dry up one of the most prolifick sources of intemperance in drinking. But this is not all. It wishes to suppress another species of intemperance, which has destroyed its millions. The spirit of war is of an intemperate and intoxicating nature. It disposes men to hazard their own lives in the most desperate manner, in attempts to murder and destroy their brethren. No persons intoxicated with strong drink, ever acted the part of madmen more completely, than those do, who are intoxicated with the spirit of war. The Peace Society would not only save men from suicide, but from murdering their fellow beings; it would teach them not only to regard their own lives, but the lives of each other.

SOCIETIES FOR THE REFORMATION OF MORALS.

There are societies for the reformation of morals, whose objects extend to the suppression of other vices beside that of intemperance. The Peace Society cooperates with these, and proposes to abolish the publick "*school of*

vice," the "nursery of debauchery," impiety, and wickedness. Such a "school" war is acknowledged to be, even by its advocates. Yet this abominable "school" has been supported at an enormous expense to every community, and sanctioned by the publick authority of every nation in Christendom. In this "school," successful vice is regarded as virtue, and the most horrid butcheries of mankind are supposed to entitle the perpetrators to the highest share of publick favour and applause. While this "school of vice" shall retain its present reputation, we may despair of a very thorough reformation of morals. For so long as publick robbery, piracy, murder, and massacre, are *taught*, *encouraged*, and *applauded* by civil authority, and deemed justifiable by the ministers of religion, every species of vice may be expected to abound.

Is it not then evident, that every enlightened man, who sincerely wishes a reformation of morals, must also wish the abolition of the "school of vice," and do what he can to destroy its baneful popularity? And must he not either directly or indirectly favour the object of the Peace Society?

MEDICAL SOCIETIES.

These have claims on publick gratitude, for their efforts to improve the healing art, and thus to save the lives of men. Their benevolent inquiries embrace the best methods of treating the *diseases of the camp*, and the *wounds received in battle*. The Peace Society wishes to *prevent* these diseases and these wounds, by abolishing the custom from which they originate. The Medical Society have no hope of resuscitating those who die in battle. But the Peace Society hopes, by the blessing of God, to abolish this mode of dying, and thus to favour a large portion of fellow beings with a longer space for securing a blessed immortality.

CHARITABLE SOCIETIES.

There are many charitable societies for aiding and relieving the poor, the orphan, and the widow. The Peace Society comes forward to aid the Charitable Societies, by an attempt to abolish a custom which is one of the greatest sources of poverty and pauperism, and which multiplies the number of widows and orphans by hundreds and by thousands. To *prevent* poverty and to *prolong* the life of the father and the husband, are as really works of humanity and benevolence, as to feed the hungry, and to visit the fatherless and the widow in their afflictions.

BIBLE SOCIETIES.

These have for their object to place in the hands of all the poor and the destitute, the blessed instructions of the gospel, "the bread of life." The Peace Society aims to show more clearly the value of the gospel in its practical tendency to promote peace and to save the lives of men, to improve the character and condition of mankind even in the present state, as well as to furnish a hope of future felicity; and to teach men to regard the gospel as not only nominally, but really "THE GOSPEL OF PEACE," "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," and peace one with another.

SOCIETIES FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HEATHENS.

In Great Britain and the United States, there are many benevolent institutions for spreading the gospel among the various descriptions of heathens. The warring character of Christian nations, has for ages been one of the greatest obstacles in the way of extending the light of the gospel. Indeed it has occasioned a dreadful eclipse of this light, and hid it as under a bushel. The Peace Societies wish to

remove the cause of this eclipse, and the great obstacle to the conversion of the pagans. They wish to enable missionaries to prove by facts, that the Christian religion is "first pure, then peaceable;" that those nations which have embraced it, have renounced the savage custom of deciding controversies by the sword, and have learned the art of living in peace and love.

Moreover, the Peace Societies will labour to produce such a state of things in Christendom, that when Christian missionaries shall urge the Pagans to renounce their customs of offering human sacrifices, the Pagans shall not have it in their power to reply with truth, that Christians offer *ten* human victims in sacrifice to *men*, to every *one* that the heathens offer to their *Gods*.

Such are the objects of Peace Societies. May we not then confidently appeal to the consciences of all intelligent and candid men, and ask,—whether any other societies have higher claims to publick patronage? Is there any other institution in the success of which a greater portion of mankind are deeply interested? Is there any other whose complete success would occasion such a diminution of human wo, and such an addition to human happiness? Can any man be a Christian indeed, or a real philanthropist, and still be an enemy to the objects of the Peace Societies?

It will probably be objected, that in pursuing the objects of Peace Societies, complete success cannot be reasonably expected; and that if a great portion of any community should adopt their principles, it would be exposed to be destroyed by some other that should still retain the principles of war.

In reply we may observe,

1. That complete success has not been granted to other benevolent institutions; yet they have been instrumental of

much good. The progress of pacifick principles will probably be gradual; and their final triumph may not be till after this generation shall have passed away; yet what shall be done will not be lost, the little leaven may be finally diffused through the whole mass.

2. In regard to the danger suggested, it may be proper to state that Celsus, a heathen philosopher, "who lived at the end of the second century, attacked the Christian religion. He made it one of his charges against the Christians, that they refused in his time to bear arms for the emperour, even in the case of necessity, and when their services would have been accepted. He told them further, that if the rest of the empire were of their opinion, it would soon be overrun by the barbarians."

Such was the language of a Pagan writer against the Christian religion, and against those who had embraced it. Origen, the defender of the Christian faith, replied to Celsus, "He admits the fact as stated by Celsus, that the Christians would not bear arms, and justifies them for refusing, on the principle of the unlawfulness of war."

Now let those who urge that there is danger in adopting the principles of peace, seriously consider whose cause they espouse, and whose example they imitate; whether that of the avowed enemy of the Christian religion, or that of its advocate. In other words, let them consider, whether they act the part of infidels, or that of believers? Whether the objection of Celsus could be brought against them? And whether they are not, at least, a very different sort of Christians from those against whom Celsus wrote? The Jewish priests and pharisees reasoned like Celsus, and like some of the present day. When they saw a prospect that many would become the followers of the Messiah, they called a council and said, "If we let him thus alone, all will believe on him; and the Romans will come and take

away both our place and nation." "From that day forth, they took counsel to put him to death." Soon they accomplished their object. But did this save them? No, verily. The Romans did "come and take away both their place and nation;" not because they became the meek and harmless sheep of Christ, but because they displayed the spirit of war and violence. They took the sword as a means of salvation, and it proved to them the means of national ruin: a solemn lesson to such Christian rulers and ministers as are afraid to adopt the pacifick principles and spirit of the gospel, in their official conduct, lest they should expose a nation to be "overrun by the barbarians!"

REVIEW OF DR. M'LEOD'S ARGUMENT FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT.

"In defence of the right of waging war," Dr. M'Leod has founded an argument on the following passage:—

"For rulers are not a terrour to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."—*Rom.* xiii. 3. 4.

To obtain a correct view of this passage, we should consider the character and situation of the persons to whom it was addressed, the government under which they lived, and the context of the verses on which the argument is founded.

The persons addressed were such as had professed their faith in Jesus, as the Messiah, the Prince of Peace. Many of them were probably in the condition of *slaves*, and all

of them needed instruction respecting the principles of the Christian religion, as they relate to civil government.

The government under which they then lived, was the imperial government of Rome, while it was both despotick and Pagan. It must, then, have naturally been a serious inquiry with Christians, whether, as subjects of the Prince of peace, they were bound to obey a Pagan despot, to honour a Pagan magistrate, and to pay taxes for the support of a Pagan government. At least, considering the rude state of society at that period, there was danger of errour on these points, and need of apostolick instruction.

The danger of these Christians, in respect to dishonouring their profession, was the greater, as they were a despised and persecuted people. Under these circumstances, they were addressed by Paul in the following language:—

"Bless them that persecute you; bless and curse not. Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep. Be of the same mind one toward another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits. Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation (or judgment.) For rulers are not a terrour to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou, then, not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a

revenger (or avenger) to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render, therefore, to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour. Owe no man any thing, but to love one another. For he that loveth another, hath fulfilled the law. For this, thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not bear false witness. Thou shalt not covet. And if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this—Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law."—*Rom.* xii. 14—to chap. xiii. 10.

Such is the exhortation which Paul gave to the despised and persecuted Christians, while they were subject to a Pagan government. Can any thing be more clear, than that it was his aim to excite them to display, under all their trials, a "meek and quiet spirit," and on no account, and on no occasion to indulge refractory, seditious, and revengeful passions; but in all things, to act as became the peaceful subjects of the Redeemer of men?

Is it possible for any one, who is not under the influence of prepossessions or passions favourable to war, to see, in any part of the exhortation, any thing to justify Christian rulers in "waging war," or Christian ministers in pleading for such a sanguinary, revengeful, and murderous custom?

But let us hear Dr. M'Leod:—

"Man, in his collective capacity, derives from God the right of government; hence the magistrate is his *ordinance; he is the minister of God.* The design of this institution is the good of society; *he is the minister of God for good.* His province is the protection of virtue and the suppression of evil. *Rulers are not a terrour to good works, but to the evil.* In suppressing evil, the national sovereignty is divinely armed with *vengeance; the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath.*" p. 114.

Remark 1. May it not be questioned, whether an *individual despot* is "*man* in his *collective capacity?*"

Remark 2. It is granted that government exists by the appointment of God; that it is intended for the good of society; that rulers are God's ministers or servants; that when they rule in justice and mercy, they are not a terrour to good works, but to the evil; that even when they act as tyrants and oppressors, they are God's instruments in executing punishment upon evil doers. For to God "belongeth vengeance and recompense;" and he often makes use of one wicked being, or one wicked nation, to punish another.

Remark 3. It is granted that the proper "province" of a ruler, "is the protection of virtue and the suppression of evil." Can it then be his duty to "wage war," and establish "a school of vice, a nursery of debauchery?" Can he, as a protector of virtue, adopt a course which "flows from malevolent passions,"—"arrests the progress of improvement,"—"impoverishes countries,"—"corrupts the youth,"—and "hurries into eternity, in an unprepared state, thousands of thoughtless fellow-sinners?"

But, let the Doctor speak again:—

"The sword of the sovereign is not merely *disciplinary*, an instrument of reform; it is also for *vengeance*" p. 114.

"Now if the magistrate does not bear the sword in vain, he must use it. It is put in his hand, not for show, but for execution. He is not decked in military habiliments for mere parade. He puts on his armour to strike with terrour the enemies of his country. God gives him the right of *waging war. He is the minister of God, attending continually on this very thing.*" p. 115.

Remark 1. For many ages prior to the time of Paul, *power* had been attained by the *sword;* and the *instrument* of *power*, had become its *symbol.* It does not appear, that the apostle had the least reference to a right of *waging war*, but merely to the power of punishing refrac-

tory subjects for evil deeds. Nor does his use of the word *sword* imply, that this was the most proper instrument for punishing the guilty. The passage affords no proof that it was right, even for a Pagan government to "wage war." Much less, if possible, does it prove that a Christian ruler may imitate a Pagan despot, in adopting this savage custom for the settlement of disputes, or for extension of empire.

Had it been the object of the "discourses" to prove, that Christians may lawfully use the murderous means, by which military chiefs have acquired thrones; and that it is the duty of the Christian ruler to employ the sword for the subversion of Christianity and the establishment of a Pagan military despotism, and to *attend continually on this very thing;* the Doctor might have quoted the language of Paul with as much propriety as he did to prove the *right of waging war*, for "actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted." If Paul's language may be justly cited as a proof of the right of *waging war* at all, it may surely be employed in support of waging *wars of conquest*, after the manner of the Romans; for it was the Roman government he had in view.

Perhaps no other passage of scripture has been more blindly, or more wantonly abused to justify oppression, war, and vengeance on the part of rulers, than the one, on which the Doctor founded his argument. In former ages it was pressed into the service of persecution, with as good a grace as the Doctor has employed it in support of war. Indeed we may ask, what species of man-slaughter, persecution, revenge, and massacre, has not been supposed to be authorized by Paul's saying of the magistrate, "He beareth not the sword in vain?" Just as though an admonition to private Christians to be *meek* and *peaceable*, could imply a *right* on the part of rulers, to be *war-makers*, *persecutors*, *tormentors*, and *murderers!*

Remark 2. Alas! what state of mind must a Christian minister possess to urge war, vengeance, and havock at this dreadful rate! Is it not enough to make any benevolent heart ache, to read or hear such language? Can this be the spirit of him who prayed, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do?" Is it that wisdom which is from above, "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits?" What a contrast to the pacifick exhortation of Paul, on which the Doctor was remarking! I have read of one man, who, at a certain period of his life, was "breathing out threatenings and slaughter," at another, he was addressing his fellow-men in this benevolent language:—"If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men." In which state of mind did he most resemble the Messiah? And in which did his feelings best accord with the paragraph now under review?

Remark 3. What can be more shocking than this account of the magistrate; "God gives him the *right of waging war. He is the minister of God, attending continually on this very thing.*" If "waging war" be the *continual* business of the magistrate, as *God's minister*, what could be better adapted to excite him to a thorough and persevering discharge of his duty than such preaching? But is this "preaching PEACE by Jesus Christ?"

Immediately succeeding the words last quoted from the discourses, we are told what the magistrate ought to be "as a man." "*As a man*, let him be meek, peaceful, and forgiving. Let every man, in his individual character, be humane, conciliating, patient of injury, slow to anger. It is the law of Christ." It is strongly expressed, Matt. v. 39—41. "I say unto you, that ye resist not evil," &c.

After some observations to show, that this passage is not to be "understood *literally*," the Doctor interrogates:—

"Who then is so childish as to use this argument against the rights of war? We must adopt a consistent plan of interpretation; and recollect that the Author of the gospel, while he in this passage urges upon *individuals* a forgiving disposition, lays down in another, the duty of the national *representative*, acting as *his minister*, to exercise *vengeance on the aggressor. He is a revenger to execute wrath.* This is the doctrine of Jesus Christ, our Lord. It is the Holy Ghost, THE COMFORTER of our souls, that makes the declaration. He who sanctifies and instructs true Christians, hereby declares that *war is, in certain cases, lawful.*" p. 116.

Remark 1. There are two senses in which a ruler may be said to be an *avenger* to execute wrath or punishment. He is so, when he executes just and reasonable laws against transgressors, for the good of community. This he may do with the most benevolent feelings, towards the guilty. Rulers also, like tempests, earthquakes, and fatal distempers, may be said to be *ministers* of divine justice, when they wage war, and are instruments in bringing evil on their own people, or the people of other nations. In every war, those who wage it may be said to be *executioners* of divine anger against the wicked. "Howbeit they mean not so, neither do their hearts think so;" and often rulers themselves fall victims to the vengeance of God, which they execute.

Remark 2. That there are duties incumbent on a magistrate, which would not be incumbent on him in a private capacity, will readily be granted. But his elevation to office is so far from freeing him from obligations to be "meek, peaceful, and forgiving," "in his *individual* character," or in his publick character, that it enhances these obligations. In proportion as he is exalted, the more important it is that he should be in all respects an exemplary disciple of the Prince of peace; because the greater will be his influence, the greater his advantages to promote the

peace and happiness of mankind, and the greater the account which he must render to God, the Judge of all.

It is, however, lamentably true, that for many centuries, the rulers of Christian nations have conducted on the delusive principle, that as magistrates, they were not bound to "be meek, peaceful, and forgiving." And what have been the consequences? Christendom has been "a field of blood." Publick robbery, piracy, violence, and murder, have overspread both sea and land. Never, never did an errour more fatal in its tendency, enter the mind of a Mahometan or a Pagan, or even a maniack; nor one that has actually occasioned more calamity to the human race. This one errour has probably "hurried into eternity," in an untimely manner, *fifty millions* of human beings, bearing the name of Christians, to gratify the avarice or ambition of misguided or unprincipled men.

How shocking then is the thought, that after all the crimes, the desolations and miseries occasioned by this principle, it should still be advocated by a "*Pastor of* THE REFORMED *Presbyterian church!*" What is the import of the deleterious distinction, but this? that the ruler, "*as a man*," is bound to "be meek, peaceful, and forgiving," but, as a magistrate, he may indulge revengeful and "malevolent passions:" "As a man," he must be a humble follower of the Messiah, but, as a magistrate, he may be a follower of Mahomet:" "As a man," he must be a child of our merciful Father in heaven, but, as a magistrate, he may be a "child of the devil," and, as a roaring lion, go about seeking whom he may devour!

How very partial and imperfect must be all supposed *reformations*, while such sanguinary and malignant principles are cherished and reduced to practice!

Instead of urging this antichristian and fatal distinction, it should be the aim of every minister of the Prince of

peace, to make the magistrate feel, that although he is a *ruler*, he is still but "a *man*;" a man who must "give account of himself unto God," for all his publick, as well as his private conduct; that as a *Christian ruler*, he is solemnly bound to act on the "meek, peaceful, and forgiving" principles of the religion he professes; that if he shall fail of displaying the Christian spirit, in his official conduct, he will be as liable to condemnation as any private citizen; and that if he indulges the opposite spirit of ambition, avarice, and revenge, and wantonly plunges a nation into the crimes and miseries of war, the blood of *murdered men* will cry to God for vengeance against him.

But so long as the ministers of the Christian religion shall flatter the pride of ambitious rulers, and inculcate the doctrine, that *as magistrates*, they are not bound to obey the peaceful and benevolent precepts of the Messiah, and that they have "a right to *wage war*" for any "actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted," we may expect, that the land will frequently be crimsoned and manured with the blood of its inhabitants.

Is it not then a very serious question,—At whose hands will this blood be required? Will it be required of ignorant and deluded soldiers, who are taught by their rulers, and by ministers of religion, that it is a glorious thing to die *fighting*, on account of "actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted?" Or of those soldiers who are compelled, by sanguinary laws, to become murderers of one another? Is Dr. M'Leod prepared to say, that he will be answerable for all the slaughter which the principles he has advanced will justify? Or which his war sermons may actually occasion, should their tendency not be counteracted by the friends of peace? If it should ultimately appear, that by the influence of his Five Discourses, "thousands of our thoughtless fellow-sinners, who might otherwise have had

time and space for repentance, were "hurried into eternity in an unprepared state," what must be his reflections! Can his heart endure to meet at the bar of God, *thousands* of "fellow sinners," who will be able to testify, that they were ruined by cherishing the spirit which *his* principles of war and revenge are adapted to inspire?

There are other things in the Five Discourses, which are liable to animadversion, but I must forbear. My remarks have been made on what may be regarded as the *pillars* of the Doctor's superstructure; if these have been demolished, the building will fall of course; if not, it may stand till farther light shall arise on the subject.

What allowance a just and merciful God will make, on account of the delusions, which result from education, passion, and prejudice, I am not able to determine. I however charitably believe, that the author of the Discourses will stand on very different ground, from what I should have done, had I written such discourses with my views of the nature of Christianity and the nature of war. So far as forgiveness is needed for his having published opinions of such a sanguinary tendency, I devoutly pray that it may be granted; and that the Doctor may yet possess such views of the gospel and such a state of mind, that he will rejoice in the attempt which has been made to counteract the tendency of his publication.

If, in what I have written, I have indulged an unfriendly spirit, for this I need forgiveness: but I hope I may say, without self-deception, that whatever of apparent severity there may have been in my remarks, it has not proceeded from disaffection to the author of the Discourses, but from an abhorrence of the opinions to which I have objected.

INTERESTING REFLECTIONS ON WAR, BY MR. JEFFERSON.

THE following reflections on war, were written by Mr. Jefferson, in 1798. They are found near the close of a letter to Sir John Sinclair, President of the Board of Agriculture, at London. Having given a lengthy "description of a mould-board," which he conceived to be of the best form, he introduced war as a deplorable calamity, by which agricultural inquiries and pursuits were liable to be interrupted. He then observed as follows :—

"I am fixed in awe at the mighty conflict to which two great nations are advancing, and recoil with horrour at the ferociousness of man. Will nations never devise a more rational umpire of differences than force? Are there no means of coercing injustice more gratifying to our nature than a waste of the blood of thousands, and of the labour of millions of our fellow-creatures?

"We see numerous societies of men, the aboriginals of this country, living together without acknowledgment of either laws or magistracy. Yet they live in peace among themselves; and acts of violence are as rare in their societies as in nations which keep the sword of law in perpetual activity. Publick reproach, a refusal of common offices, interdiction of the commerce and comforts of society, are found as effectual as the coarser instruments of force. Nations, like these individuals, stand towards each other only in the relations of natural right. Might they not, like them, be peaceably punished for violence and wrong?

"Wonderful has been the progress of human improvement in other lines. Let us hope then, that the law of nature, which makes a virtuous conduct produce benefit, and vice loss to the agent in the long run,---which has sanctioned the common principle, that honesty is the best policy, will in time influence the proceedings of nations as well as of individuals; and that we shall at length be sensible, that war is an instrument *entirely inefficient towards redressing wrong;* that it *multiplies, instead of indemnifying losses.*

"Had the money which has been spent in the present war, been employed in making roads and conducting canals of navigation and

irrigation through the country, not a hovel in the highlands of Scotland, or mountains of Auvergne, would have been without a boat at its door, a rill of water in every field, and a road to its market town.

"Had the money we have lost by the lawless depredations of all the belligerent powers been employed in the same way, what communications would have been opened of roads and waters! Yet, were we to go to war for redress, instead of redress, we should plunge deeper into loss and disable ourselves for half a century more from attaining the same end. A war would cost us more than would cut through the isthmus of Darien; and that of Suez might have been opened with what a single year has seen thrown away on the rock of Gibralter.

"These truths are palpable, and must, in the progress of time, have their influence on the minds and conduct of nations."

These opinions of Mr. Jefferson were committed to writing, prior to his election to the Presidency of the United States; and they may account for some things in his administration, which were disapproved by his political opponents; but of which, perhaps, an enlightened posterity will pronounce a different verdict. What we have now before us, from his pen, appears to have been the result of serious reflection on the impolicy of war; and it is hoped, that the time is at hand, when these "palpable truths" will have that "influence on the minds and conduct of nations" which the writer anticipated.

Since Mr. Jefferson retired from office, our nation has had an exemplification of the correctness of his remark, "*That war is an instrument entirely inefficient towards redressing wrong; that it multiplies, instead of indemnifying losses.*" May we not then indulge a hope, that the experience we have had of these "palpable truths," will have an "influence" on all who shall hereafter be concerned in administering the government of this nation? And such an influence on every class of our citizens, that whoever may preside, he shall be free from all temptation to engage in war, to gratify those on whom he may be

dependent for office? A pacifick people will naturally insure a pacifick government, so long as it shall be elective; and a contentious people will be pretty sure to produce a contentious government, or to give it a contentious aspect and direction.

DEAN SWIFT'S ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSES OF WAR.

In the Philanthropist, for July, 1813, we have an able and interesting article on the subject of war. The writer introduces the following ludicrous account of the causes of war, from Dr. Swift.

"He asked me," says the Docter, "what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another? I answered, they were innumerable: but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes, the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern. Sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in war, in order to stifle or divert the clamour of their subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinion has cost many millions of lives. For instance, whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood, or wine; whether whistling be a vice, or a virtue.

"Sometimes, the quarrel between two powers is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretends to any right. Sometimes one prince quarrels with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him. Sometimes a war is entered upon, because the enemy is too strong; and sometimes because he is too weak. Sometimes our neighbours want the things which we have, or have the things which we want; and we both fight till they take ours or we theirs.

"It is a very justifiable cause of a war, to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. It is justifiable to enter into war against our nearest ally, when one of his towns lies convenient for us, or a territory of land, that would render our dominion round and compact.

"If a prince sends forces into a nation where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilize them and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. It is a very kingly, honourable, and frequent practice, when one prince desires the assistance of another, to secure him against an invasion, that the assistant, when he has driven out the invader, should seize on the dominions himself, and kill, imprison, or banish the prince he came to relieve."

After quoting this passage, the writer in the Philanthropist makes the following just remarks:—

"If we consider rightly, we shall find a very small number of wars, at the utmost, the causes of which are not assignable to one or other of the heads which Swift enumerates, ridiculous and detestable as they appear, when thus exhibited without covering or disguise.

"The wonderful thing is, that at the moment of action or decision, it should be so very easy to endow them with deceptive colours. Scarcely ever does it happen, that the wars into which nations are plunged, are not made to appear to the contending parties as highly necessary or honourable; are not made to appear so, equally to both nations, though it *must* always happen, that of the parties, one is, and it most frequently happens that both are in the wrong. If we look, for example, at the wars which, since the beginning of the last century, the British nation have carried on with the French, we shall find that every one of these destructive contests was made to wear plausible colours on both sides, to the credulous people whom they oppressed. Yet it would be a curious inquiry to determine of how many of them the cause will not be found in the catalogue of Swift. Mankind are deluded by their passions. It is easy for rulers to fill their bosoms with hope, or with fear. Whoever is master of their hopes and fears, is master of the men. He commands the steam which works the engine, and of which the movements may be guided to any operation."

EXTRACTS FROM PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES, APPLICABLE TO THE CUSTOM OF WAR, AND TO AN ATTEMPT FOR ITS ABOLITION.

THE following extracts are taken from the speeches made in the British Parliament, during the long struggle for the

abolition of the slave trade. Their applicability to war and to an attempt for its abolition, will be obvious to every discerning reader. I shall forbear to give the names of the speakers against the abolition, because I trust they have repented of the part they took in the debate, and would be glad that their speeches might be abolished, as well as the trade which they were designed to support. But the names of the speakers, on the other side, will be given, that they may be more generally known and respected in our country.

Mr. *Wilberforce.* "Had this trade been ever so profitable, my decision would have been in no degree affected by that consideration. Here's the smell of blood on the hand still, and all the perfumes of Arabia cannot sweeten it. The consciousness of the justice of my cause would carry me forward, though I were alone; but I cannot but derive encouragement from considering with whom I am associated. Let us not despair. It is a blessed cause; and success, ere long, will crown our exertions. Never, never will we desist, till we have wiped away this scandal from the Christian name; till we have released ourselves from the load of guilt under which we at present labour; and till we have extinguished every trace of this bloody traffick, which our posterity, looking back to the history of these enlightened times, will scarcely believe had been suffered to exist so long, a disgrace and a dishonour to our country."

In opposition it was said:—"They who attempt the abolition of the trade, are led away by a *mistaken humanity.* The slave-trade is absolutely necessary, if we mean to carry on our West-India commerce. It also has the merit of keeping up a number of seamen in readiness for the state. The abolition would lessen the commerce of the country, and increase the national debt and the number of taxes. It would annihilate a trade whose exports amounts to eight hundred thousand pounds annually, and which employs 160 vessels, and more than 5,000 men."

Another in opposition said:—"The *slave-trade* is certainly not an *amiable trade,* neither is that of a *butcher;* but it is a very *necessary one.* There is great reason to doubt the propriety of the present motion. I have *twenty reasons* for disapproving it. The first is, *that the thing is impossible.* I have no need to give the rest. I would not

gratify my humanity at the expense of the interests of my country; and I think we should not too curiously inquire into the unpleasant circumstances which attend it."

Mr. *James Martin* replied, that "The doctrines he had heard that evening ought to have been reserved for times the most flagrantly profligate and abandoned. He never expected then to learn, that the everlasting laws of righteousness were to give way to imaginary political and commercial expediency, and that thousands of our fellow-creatures were to be reduced to wretchedness, that individuals might enjoy opulence, or government a revenue."

In opposition, one gentleman said, "It appeared to him to have been the *intention of Providence* from the very beginning, that *one set of men should be slaves to another*. This truth was as old as it was universal. It was recognized in every history, under every government, and in every religion."

Mr. *William Smith* observed, "Whatever may have been advanced, every body must feel, that the slave-trade cannot exist an hour, if that excellent maxim, 'to do to others as we would that others should do to us,' had its proper influence on the conduct of men. Nor was Mr. ——— more happy in his argument from the *antiquity of slavery*. Because a practice *has existed*, does it necessarily follow that it *is just?* By this argument, every crime may be defended, from the time of Cain."

Mr. *Courtenay* observed, that "It had been said by Mr. ———, that the pulpit had been used as an instrument of attack on the slave-trade. He was happy that it was so well employed; and he hoped the bishops would rise up in the House of Lords, with the virtuous indignation which became them, to abolish a traffick so contrary to humanity, justice, and religion."

Mr. *William Pitt* remarked, "From the first hour of my having had the honour to sit in Parliament, down to the present, among all the questions, whether political or personal, in which it has been my fortune to take a share, there has never been one in which my heart was so deeply interested as in the present; both on account of the serious principles it involves, and the consequences connected with it.

"The present is not a mere question of *feeling*. The argument which ought, in my opinion, to determine the committee, is, that the slave-trade is *unjust*. It is, therefore, such a trade as it is impossible for me to support, unless it can be first proved, that there are *no laws of morality binding on nations;* and that it is not the duty of a Legis-

lature to restrain its subjects from invading the happiness of other countries, and from violating the fundamental principles of justice."

Mr. *Fox* observed, "Never did I hear of charges so black and horrible, as those contained in the evidence on the table. But what is our motive in the case before us, to continue a trade which is a wholesale sacrifice of a whole order and race of our fellow-creatures? O, most monstrous wickedness! O, unparalleled barbarity! And what is more aggravating, this most complicated scene of *robbery* and *murder*, which mankind has ever witnessed, has been honoured by the name of *trade*.*

Mr. *Fox* rehearsed some of the facts which had been stated by the witnesses, and then said, "I am glad that these tales affect the House. Will they then sanction enormities, the bare recital of which makes them shudder? Let them remember that humanity does not consist in a squeamish ear. It does not consist in shrinking and starting at such tales as these; but in a disposition of heart to remedy the evils they unfold."

At the close of his speech, he said, "I will now conclude, by declaring that the whole country, indeed the whole civilized world must rejoice, that such a bill as the present has been moved for, not merely as a matter of humanity, but as an act of justice; for I will put humanity out of the question. *Can it be called humanity, to forbear from committing murder?* Exactly upon this ground does the present motion stand; being strictly a question of national justice."

May I not subjoin, "exactly upon this ground" stands the motion for the abolition of war?

Now who will say that the arguments in favour of war, are better than those which were formerly adopted in favour of the slave-trade? Or who can pretend that the barbarous commerce in slaves involved half so much of crime, of "murder," and of misery, as the custom of war, which is still popular? And who can deny that the arguments for the abolition of the slave trade, will apply with sevenfold energy for the abolition of war?

Let Mr. Wilberforce and his surviving coadjutors, have their eyes as completely opened in respect to the injustice,

* Had this gentleman ever read, or heard, or thought of *war*? And of its being "honoured by the name of"---PROFESSION?

the inhumanity and the horrours of war, as they have been to the evils of the slave trade, and they will repeat their resolution:---"NEVER, NEVER WILL WE DESIST, TILL WE HAVE WIPED AWAY THIS SCANDAL FROM THE CHRISTIAN NAME; TILL WE HAVE RELEASED OURSELVES FROM THE LOAD OF GUILT, UNDER WHICH WE AT PRESENT LABOUR."

In a future number, will probably be given, extracts from other speeches on the same subject.

LETTER OF EIRENIKOS TO PHILO PACIFICUS.

SIR,

I AM one of the many, whom your publications, on the antichristian character of war, have aroused to reflection. Like him, who "saw men as trees walking," when his eyes were suddenly opened to the light, I, at first, had but an indistinct view of the interesting subject, and was equally astonished and delighted by the confused perception of the truths presented to my mind: astonished that these truths had so long escaped my attention, and delighted by the cheering results, which they seemed to promise. With all the eagerness, and, I trust, with some part of the simplicity, conspicuous in the child, when beginning to notice surrounding objects, I set myself to examine the novel doctrine. The more I examined, the more clear and indubitable it appeared. "My understanding and my heart accorded with it, at first blush:" and when I resorted to the gospel of Christ for information, I found no other doctrine more repeatedly expressed, more powerfully enforced, or more engagingly exemplified. I could hardly realize, that, from a child, I had been accustomed to read the New Testament, from beginning to end, and yet had never noted

a sentiment which now met me in every page. Nor was I less surprised to discover in my subsequent researches, that the same sentiment, if not explicitly stated, was almost invariably implied in the sermons and other theological works, with which I had long been acquainted. I was particularly gratified with a lucid exhibition of the import and style of our Saviour's instruction, relative to the spirit whence wars and fightings come, in Dr. Paley's "Evidences of Christianity;"* which, though I had often seen it before, struck me with all the force of a new discovery. I take the liberty to transcribe it for your perusal.

"There are two opposite descriptions of character, under which mankind may generally be classed. The one possesses vigour, firmness, resolution; is daring and active, quick in its sensibilities, jealous of its fame; eager in its attachments, inflexible in its purpose, violent in its resentments.

"The other, meek, yielding, complying, forgiving; not prompt to act, but willing to suffer, silent and gentle under rudeness and insult, suing for reconciliation where others would demand satisfaction; giving way to the pushes of impudence, conceding and indulgent to the prejudices, the wrong-headedness, the intractability of those with whom it has to deal.

"The former of these characters is, and ever has been, the favourite of the world. It is the character of great men. There is a dignity in it which universally commands respect.

"The latter is poor-spirited, tame, and abject. Yet so it hath happened, that with the founder of Christianity, this latter is the subject of his commendation, his precepts, his example; and that the former is so, in no part of its composition. This, and nothing else, is the character designed in the following remarkable passages:—'Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also; and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain; love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you.' This certainly

* Pages 206, 7, 8, 9, Boston edition, 1795.

is not common-place morality. It is very original. It shows, at least' (and it is for this purpose we produce it) that no two things can be more different than the heroick and the Christian character.

"Now the author, to whom I refer,* has not only remarked this difference more strongly than any preceding writer, but has proved, in contradiction to first impressions, to popular opinion, to the encomiums of orators and poets, and even to the suffrages of historians and moralists, that the latter character possesses the most of true worth, both as being most difficult either to be acquired or sustained, and as contributing most to the happiness and tranquillity of social life. The state of his argument is as follows :—

"I. If this disposition were universal, the case is clear : the world would be a society of friends. Whereas, if the other disposition were universal, it would produce a scene of universal contention. The world could not hold a generation of such men.

"II. If, what is the fact, the disposition be partial; if a few be actuated by it, amongst a multitude who are not, in whatever degree it does prevail, in the same proportion it prevents, allays, and terminates quarrels, the great disturbers of human happiness, and the great sources of human misery, so far as man's happiness and misery depend upon man. Without this disposition enmities must not only be frequent, but, once begun, must be eternal; for each retaliation being a fresh injury, and consequently, requiring a fresh *satisfaction*, no period can be assigned to the reciprocation of affronts, and to the progress of hatred, but that which closes the lives, or, at least, the intercourse of the parties.

"I would only add to these observations, that although the former of the two characters above described, may be occasionally useful; although, perhaps, a great general, or a great statesman, may be formed by it, and these may be instruments of important benefits to mankind, yet is this nothing more than what is true of many qualities which are acknowledged to be vicious. *Envy* is a quality of this sort. I know not a stronger stimulus to exertion. Many a scholar, many an artist, many a soldier, has been produced by it. Nevertheless, since in its general effects it is noxious, it is properly condemned, certainly is not praised by sober moralists.

"It was a portion of the same character as that we are defending, or rather of his love of the same character, which our Saviour displayed, in his repeated correction of the ambition of his disciples; his

* Soame Jennings.

frequent admonitions, that greatness with them was to consist in humility: his censure of that love of distinction, and greediness of superiority, which the chief persons amongst his countrymen were wont, on all occasions, great and little, to betray. "They (the Scribes and Pharisees) love the uppermost rooms, at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, and to be called of men, Rabbi, Rabbi. But be not ye called Rabbi, for one is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren; and call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father, which is in heaven; neither be ye called masters, for one is your master, even Christ; but he that is greatest among *you* shall be your servant, and whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted,* I make no further remark upon these passages, (because they are, in truth, only a repetition of the doctrine, different expressions of the principle, which we have already stated) except that some of the passages, especially our Lord's advice to the guests at an entertainment, (Luke xiv. 7.) seem to extend the rule to what we call *manners;* which was both regular in point of consistency, and not so much beneath the dignity of our Lord's mission as may at first sight be supposed, for bad manners are bad morals."

I confess, Sir, that the transcript, now before you, commands my unqualified assent, as an argument which goes eventually to prove the repugnance of publick war, no less than of single combat, and private contention, to the genius of our holy religion. On the most deliberate, and, as far as I know my own heart, impartial examination, I find no warrant in the gospels and epistles, nor yet in the nature of the case, to detach its application and influence from any office or character, from any condition or relation, from any transaction or concern, incident to human life. To me it appears equally pertinent to rulers, as to subjects; to the intercourse of nations, as to the treatment of individuals. Its author seems, however, to have thought otherwise, and accordingly subjoined a limitation, on which I propose, by leave of Providence, to remark in my next. Meanwhile, I am yours with affection and esteem. EIRENIKOS.

* Matt. xxiii. 6. See also Mark xii. 39. Luke xx. 45. xiv. 7.

REVIEW OF "THOUGHTS ON UNIVERSAL PEACE," BY THE REVEREND THOMAS CHALMER.

It must be gratifying to the friends of Peace in this country to know, that they have fellow-labourers in Europe, engaged in the same glorious cause. The sermon now before us is able, eloquent, and judicious. It was delivered at Glasgow, the 18th of last January, "the day of the national thanksgiving for the restoration of peace." The preacher took for his text, Isaiah ii. 4. "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

After remarking, that "there are many passages in scripture which warrant the expectation" of such a time as is predicted in the text, Mr. Chalmer attempted "to do away a delusion which exists on the subject of prophecy;" namely, that "its fulfilments are all certain, and we have nothing to do but to wait for them in passive and indolent expectation." In remarking on this delusion, he has some very just and striking thoughts on its dangerous tendency; and he shows, by the manner in which other predictions have been fulfilled, that we have no reason to expect, that "the abolition of war will be the effect of any sudden or resistless visitation from heaven on the character of men. But it will be brought about by the activity of men. It will be done by the philanthropy of thinking and intelligent Christians." "The subject of war," he conceives, "will be brought to the test of Christian principle, and many will unite to spread a growing sense of its follies and its enormities over the countries of the world."

The heads of the discourse, are "the evils of war;" "the obstacles in the way of its extinction;" and "some of the expedients by which these obstacles may be done away."

We have room only for a few extracts. Under the head of obstacles in the way of the extinction of war, we find the following passages:—

"The first great obstacle to the extinction of war, is the way in which the heart of man is carried off from its barbarities and its horrours, by the splendour of its deceitful accompaniments. On every side of me I see causes at work, which go to spread a delusive colouring over war, and to remove its shocking barbarities to the back ground of our contemplations altogether. I see it in the history which tells me of the superb appearance of the troops, and the brilliancy of their successive charges. I see it in the poetry which lends the magick of its numbers to the narrative of blood, and transports its many admirers, as by its images and its figures, and its nodding plumes of chivalry, it throws its treacherous embellishments over a scene of legalized slaughter. I see it in the musick which represents the progress of the battle. All, all goes to prove what strange and half-sighted creatures we are. Were it not so, war could never have been seen in any other aspect than that of unmingled hatefulness; and I can look to nothing, but to the progress of Christian sentiment upon earth, to arrest the strong current of its popular and prevailing partiality for war. Then only will an imperious sense of duty lay the check of severe principle, on all the subordinate tastes and faculties of our nature.

"Another obstacle to the extinction of war, is a sentiment which seems to be universally gone into, that the rules and promises of the gospel which apply to a single individual, do not apply to a nation of individuals. Just think of the mighty effect it would have on the politicks of the world, were this sentiment deposed from its wonted authority over the counsels and the doings of nations, in their transactions with each other. If forbearance be the virtue of an individual, forbearance is also the virtue of a nation. If it be the glory of a man to defer his anger and to pass over a transgression, that nation mistakes its glory which is so feelingly alive to the slightest insult, and musters up its threats and its armaments apon the faintest shadow of provocation. If it be the magnanimity of an injured man to abstain from vengeance, and if, by so doing, he heaps coals of fire upon the head of his enemy, then that is the magnanimous nation, which, recoiling from violence and from blood, will do no more than send its Christian embassy, and prefer its mild and impressive remonstrance; and that

is the disgraced nation, which will refuse the impressiveness of the moral appeal that has been made to it."

Under the third head we have the following remarks:

"It is publick opinion, which, in the long run, governs the world; and while I look with confidence to a gradual revolution in the state of publick opinion, from the omnipotence of gospel truth working its silent, but effectual way through the families of mankind. Yet I will not deny, that much may be done to accelerate the advent of perpetual and universal peace, by a distinct body of men, embarking their every talent, and their every acquirement in the prosecution of this as a distinct object. This was the way, in which a few years ago, the British publick were gained over to the cause of Africa," for the abolition of the slave trade. "This is the way, in which some of the other prophecies of the Bible, are at this moment hastening to their accomplishment; and it is in this way, I apprehend, that the prophecy in my text, may be indebted for its speedier fulfilment to the agency of men, selecting this as the assigned field, on which their philanthropy shall expatiate.

"Were each individual member of such a scheme, to prosecute his own work, and come forward with his own peculiar contribution, the fruit of the united labours of all, would be one of the finest collections of Christian eloquence, and of enlightened morals, and of sound political philosophy, that was ever presented to the world.

"Let one take up the question of war, in its principle, and make the full weight of his moral severity rest upon it, and upon all its abominations. Let another take up the question of war, in its consequences, and bring his every power of graphical description to the task of presenting an awakened publick, with an impressive detail of its cruelties and its horrours. Let another neutralize the poetry of war, and dismantle it of all those bewitching splendours, which the hand of misguided genius has thrown over it. Let another teach the world a truer, and more magnanimous path to national glory, than any country of the world has yet walked in. Let another tell with irresistible argument, how the Christian ethicks of a nation is as one with the Christian ethicks of its humblest individual. Let another pour the light of modern speculation into the mysteries of trade, and prove, that not a single war has been undertaken for any of its objects, where the millions and the millions more, which were lavished on the cause, have not all been cheated away from us by the phantom of an imaginary interest."

In this intrepid and eloquent manner, a minister of religion can talk on the subject of war in Great-Britain. Such discourses must lead many to reflect, and due reflection will result in conviction and reformation. A want of reflection lies at the very foundation of the popularity of war. The more the nature of war becomes the subject of inquiry, discourse and reflection, the greater will be the number of people who will discover its non-necessity, its inutility, and its malignant and ruinous character; and the more the custom will be abhorred by men of humane and benevolent feelings.

LETTER OF A PHILANTHROPIST TO PHILO PACIFICUS.

[Boston, April 18, 1816.]

Sir,

As mountains are composed of minute particles of matter, so the greatest works can be effected only, by the union of individual exertions. Every benevolent mind must sincerely wish success to your magnanimous plan of diffusing through the world, the *principles* of *peace*. But by individual and energetick *efforts to promote that success*, alone, can the sincerity and strength of *that wish* be proved, and the plan be carried into execution. As an individual, then, *every one* must strive to add *his* "*mite*," to this *grand work* of *charity*; and in obedience to the force of the above reasoning is this humble effort commenced. Blessed be God, that the "song of angels," is at length heard by men on earth; and that the *spirit* of *peace*, the *spirit* of the Holy Gospel, is at length *received* by some, as *indeed* and in *truth*, the messenger of heaven bringing "glad tidings of great joy." The 4th number of your "Friend of Peace," came not till the last evening, into my hand; and so luminous, just and powerful, is the train of reasoning run-

ning through it, that it appears to me *mental blindness* could alone prevent its producing conviction on every mind, as soon as presented. But various in different persons, are the *causes* of *imperfect intellectual vision;* and most *momentous* is the *duty* incumbent on each individual, of discovering and dissipating these causes in himself. That your plan should strike mankind, at first, as Utopian, is scarcely less than a decided proof in its favour; for what is there, as you justly observe, of *good* and *great*, that has ever been promulgated to the world, which has not met this fate? Was it not in the power of *divine wisdom alone*, to *perceive*, that the Christian religion could ever find an establishment on earth? Could any thing have been imagined, more perfectly opposite to the *spirit* of the world, than the *spirit* of the gospel? Yet did *God* see, that there were some humble hearts, which offered a meet habitation for His Holy Spirit to dwell in. And from these "*small seeds*," we well know, sprang the great tree, in the branches of which, the fowls of the air find their lodging. Could any thing have been more strange to the philosophy of the world, than the Copernican system, at the period of its first discovery? Or, to the ignorance and superstition of that world, than the art of printing? Yet, such was the intrinsick value of these, and various other important discoveries, that there have shortly been found in all ages, a sufficient number of wise and virtuous men, to seize with avidity these intellectual treasures, and bring them into immediate *use*, for the benefit of that blind and erring world. You have then, surely, sir, no reason to be discouraged by the sarcasms or incredulity of men, in your truly philanthropick exertions to promote peace and *good will* among them.

It may, perhaps, be asked, on what ground we class this "scheme of *universal peace*," with the philosophical and mechanical discoveries and inventions above mentioned.

We answer, on the following consideration; that though *this object*, of a *general peace*, has been *known* to be *that* of the *spirit* of the gospel, from its promulgation; yet that it has *never*, since that period to the present age, entered into the *heart* of man, to bring this *spirit* generally into the *letter* of the gospel, and thus *unite* the *belief* and *practice* of mankind. The plan, therefore, is novel, grand and striking. Thus, however, have *Faith* and *Charity*, for many centuries been *unhappily separated!* except in individuals; but they are *now*, we hope, blessedly verging toward a *re-union*, which will surely, in time, realize the hope of the pious among mankind; and introduce that glorious period when Peace shall indeed *reign* on the whole earth.

But to give efficacy to the various measures taken to bring about this *divine end*, is it not clearly necessary, that a distinct *delineation* of the *object*, and a methodical arrangement of the means leading to its accomplishment, should be presented to the publick? I have not yet enjoyed the pleasure, which I doubt not of receiving from the perusal of your three first numbers. In those, I may perhaps find, what to my mind appears *requisite*, to the elucidation of this momentous subject. You have, there, perhaps, investigated the *true causes* of the sanguinary disposition and habits of human nature; and clearly pointed out the only substantial remedies, which can promise a radical cure, with the manner in which these remedies are to be applied. If you have not already taken preparatory steps similar to these, I doubt not you will do so. You will thus present a powerful "*reason* for the hope that is in you;" and prove at least to the intelligent part of the world, the *rational practicability* of your *truly Christian* scheme.

With a heartfelt prayer for its universal and permanent success, I am, sir, your obedient servant,

A PHILANTHROPIST.

N. B. This was omitted in No. 5, for want of room.

SHOCKING EFFECTS OF FALSE HONOUR.

From a Philadelphia Paper.

"In consequence of a dispute originating in a ball-room, two young men of this city had a meeting in Jersey, on Thursday last. They were attended by what is erroneously called their *friends*. The fatal engines of death were put into their hands by their pretended *friends*. The contents were discharged without effect. Thrice they were loaded, and thrice they proved harmless!

"Here let the reader for a moment pause. Let humanity, let honour, if you please so to call it, ponder over this scene of infatuation and wickedness. Two youths, perhaps grown up together in friendship, are suddenly converted into deadly enemies. Ill advised and unrestrained by reflection, they are hurried to the field of death; and their friends, unconcerned, look on their attempts at each other's murder!

"Thirsting for each other's blood, the instruments of destruction are again loaded and again discharged without effect! A fifth time with the same result! a sixth! a SEVENTH, and a youth of eighteen is sent into eternity! We can proceed no farther: the heart bursting subject is left to our readers' reflection."

REMARKS.

As this affecting "subject" was left for the reader's reflection, it may be useful to record some of the reflections which the narrative has occasioned.

First. In "pondering over this scene of infatuation," the reflecting mind naturally inquires, how came these "two young men" to be thus deluded? The answer is, by a barbarous custom and barbarous examples. What then shall be said of older men, by whose counsels and examples they were led in this road to perdition?

Second. How long shall this *infamous* and *murderous* custom be deemed *honourable* in a Christian land! Let it be treated with the infamy and detestation which it deserves, and it will die of course.

Third. What! "two young men suddenly converted into deadly enemies," by false notions of honour, and then deliberately aiming to shed each other's blood! What can

be more shocking! But pause and reflect. What is all this, compared with the madness of the rulers of nations, who, as deliberately, as wantonly, and with equally false views of honour, proclaim war, call into "the field of death" *thousands* of "young men," and then exhort, stimulate, and command them to "attempt each other's murder!"

"Here let the reader, for a moment, pause. Let humanity, let honour, if you please so to call it, ponder over this scene of infatuation and wickedness!"

Fourth. Are we amazed that these "two young men," could so thirst for each other's blood, as to load and fire, not only once or twice, but even *seven* times? What then shall be thought of the blindness or malignity of those who can cause armies of men thus to load and fire at each other, from morning to evening, and day after day!

Fifth. Are we grieved to think of the delusion, by which *one* "youth of eighteen was sent into eternity?" What then should be our feelings, in view of a popular delusion, by which not merely *one* youth, but many thousands of young men are annually destroyed, and this too in a manner as perfectly wanton and murderous, as that in which the "youth of eighteen was sent into eternity!"

Sixth. Are we astonished to think of the blindness and unconcern of the "pretended friends" of the two young men, who could "look on their attempts at each other's murder," without any effort to dissuade and to save them? What then will be our amazement, when we shall suitably reflect on the blindness and unconcern with which rulers, and even the great body of the people, in different nations "*look on*," while vast armies of men are "attempting each other's murder."

Think ye that the "two young" Philadelphians and their "pretended friends," were sinners above all men who dwell in the United States? "I TELL YOU NAY."

THE MURDER OF THE ELEPHANT.

In the course of the present year, an event has occurred which has excited much regret and indignation. A noble Elephant has been *murdered* by some villain, who has been ashamed or afraid to avow the infamous deed. This wanton act has been published and reprobated throughout the United States. *Are we not then, a very moral, refined, humane, and Christian people ?*

But let us pause a moment, and consider. How much more important—"how much better is a man than a sheep," or even an Elephant! Yet in this very country, where so much feeling is excited by the murder of *one* ELEPHANT, and so much infamy attached to the deed, how many people are extolled for murdering MEN in war! in wars too, as wanton and needless as the attack on the Elephant! How many also are to be seen, who are so far from being ashamed of such murders—so far from concealing their names and hiding their heads, that they can in the face of day, and in the face of the world, glory in their fatal exploits, boast of the blood they have shed, and of the numbers who have fallen by their sanguinary hands! Nay, while we regard it as a disgrace to our country, that there is one wretch in it, so hardened that he could wantonly take the life of an Elephant, we can, at great expense, support thousands, who are trained up for the express business of *killing men !* And to give the finishing touch to this delusion, these professional *man-killers* are thought to be the DEFENCE and the GLORY of a nation!

A *state prison* and *hard labour* would, by many, be thought a light punishment for the *elephanticide;* but a NAPOLEON, who has occasioned the slaughter and misery of millions of his fellow beings, must be supported in idleness and pomp, at an expense which would provide for thousands

of sufferers who have been made widows or orphans by his merciless and desolating ambition! This, however, is European justice and humanity. But, on both sides of the Atlantick,

"One murder makes a villain—millions a hero!"

"CIVILIZED WAR."

"*Civilized War!*—How strangely pair'd these terms
Must strike on pensive rumination's ear!

Oh! I could speculate with calmer eye,
A monstrous cloud of fierce conflicting fiends
Met in mid air, with malice hot from hell,
Than this strange chequer of our motley strife
Urbanity and *battle!* manners smooth
And ruffian actions! Thorns that deeply pierce,
And beautifully flower! Soft, courtly camps
That kill, and smile, and smile, and kill again!"

"*Civilized War!* in every shifting view
Ill suits thee, fiend accurs'd, so fair a name,
Though in the field a smoother form thou wear
Than thy wild sister, hag of craggier shape,
A feller fury thou! for on thee wait
Intenser sufferings, and a wider scene,
With varied woes, thine ampler mischief fills.''

"Yet this same act, which e'en though singly done,
If naked seen, such shuddering horrour moves,

————————when it is done
With all its tinsel on it, with its pomp
And robe about it, by a numerous troop
Whom ermined Mightiness commands and keeps—
Gay rainbow butchers!—

————————the amiable vice
Hid in magnificence and drown'd in state,
Loses the fiend; receives the sounding name

Of GLORIOUS WAR!—and through th' admiring throng,
Uncurs'd the ornamented murderers move."

"If but some few life-drops
Blush on the ground, for him, whose impious hand
The scanty purple sprinkled, a keen search
Commences straight: but if a sea be spilt—
But if a deluge spread its boundless stain,
And fields be flooded from the veins of man,
O'er the red plain no solemn Coroner
His inquisition holds. If but one corse,
With murder's sign upon it, meet the eye
Of pale discovery in the lone recess,
Justice begins the chace: When high are piled
Mountains of slain, the large enormous guilt,
Safe in its size, too vast for laws to whip,
Trembles before no bar."
"How long shall it be thus? say, Reason, say,
When shall thy long minority expire?
When shall thy dilatory kingdom come?"

N. B. These are but extracts from a poem of considerable length, written by the celebrated Joseph Fawcett, and entitled "Civilized War." The whole deserves the serious attention of rulers, and of all who patronize the sanguinary custom.

ENCOURAGING FACTS.

SINCE the fifth number of this work was published, it has been stated in the newspapers that Sweden, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, have acceded to the "Holy League," which was formed between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. If this intelligence be correct, SEVEN European governments are now allied for the preservation of peace. May we not hope, that our government will not be the last to accede to the pacifick alliance?

From a speech delivered by Mr. Vansittart, the chancellour of the exchequer, before the British and Foreign Bible Society, it appears that the British government had full confidence in the sincerity of the three sovereigns who formed the league, and that the object was approved by the British cabinet.

In several ways information has been received, that a Peace Society has been formed in England, and that its operations were commenced by republishing the "Solemn Review of the Custom of War."

In a pastoral letter to the churches, the General Association of Massachusetts Proper, has approved and recommended Peace Societies, in a manner which is calculated to excite attention, and to promote the glorious object.

An able and interesting work, on the subject of war, has been recently published in New-York, entitled "Letters addressed to Caleb Strong, Esq. late Governour of Massachusetts." These letters came too late to receive much notice in this number. Some copies of them are for sale at the Bookstore of Wells and Lilly; and it is hoped, that they will be read by Christians of every denomination.

In compliance with the request of the Board of the Massachusetts Peace Society, and the desire of many others, the Rev. W. E. Channing has consented to publish the sermon on war, which was delivered before the Convention of Congregational Ministers, at their last meeting.

By a letter to the Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Peace Society, information has just arrived, that a Peace Society was formed in the State of Ohio, Warren county, in December last, the same Month in which the Massachusetts Peace Society was formed, and the "Holy League" was published in Russia. The letter was from a Committee of the Society in Ohio. The God of Peace is omnipresent.

THE FRIEND OF PEACE.

No. VII.

EIRENIKOS TO PHILO PACIFICUS.

Letter II.

SIR,

THE limitation of Doctor Paley, to which I alluded in my last, and on which I proposed to remark, is as follows:—

"It is sufficiently apparent, that the precepts we have recited, or rather the dispositions which these precepts inculcate, relate to personal conduct from personal motives; to cases in which men act from impulse, for themselves, and from themselves. When it comes to be considered what is necessary to be done for the sake of the publick, and out of a regard to the general welfare, (which consideration, for the most part, ought exclusively to govern the duties of men in publick stations) it comes to a case to which the rules do not belong. This distinction is plain; and if it were less so, the consequence would not be much felt, for it is very seldom that, in the intercourse of private life, men act with publick views. The personal motives, from which they do act, the rule regulates."

But from whence is the plainness of this distinction derived? Not, surely, from the letter, nor yet from the spirit of the able and excellent delineation, to which it is annexed. That delineation most impressively, and, in my apprehension, most justly exhibits the obligations imposed

upon all that would learn of him, who was "meek and lowly in heart," to "follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another;" and, for aught that I can see to the contrary, the proper inference to be drawn from it, is not that these obligations are cancelled or even impaired by the enlargement of our sphere of action and influence; but that "to whom much is given, of them will much be required;" that men, capable of devising and commissioned to execute measures for the commonweal, are additionally bound to cultivate, exemplify, and recommend that "wisdom from above, which is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be intreated; full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy;" that, as the disastrous effects of an opposite behaviour in such men are more extensively felt, so they are chargeable with more atrocious guilt, when they adopt and pursue it, than can ordinarily be incurred by "personal conduct from personal motives."

If, "with the founder of Christianity," a "meek, yielding, complying, forgiving" character "is the subject of his commendation, his precepts, his example; and if the opposite character "is so in no part of its composition;" if "no two things can be more different than the heroick and the Christian character;" and if it has been "proved, in contradiction to first impressions, to popular opinion, to the encomiums of orators and poets, and even to the suffrages of historians and moralists, that the latter character possesses the most of true worth, both as being most difficult either to be acquired or sustained, and as contributing most to the happiness and tranquillity of social life:" If "the case is clear," that "were this disposition universal, the world would be a society of friends;" and that "were the other disposition universal, it would produce a scene of universal contention:" If "without this disposition, enmities must

not only be frequent, but, once begun, must be eternal;" and if "in whatever degree it prevails, in the same proportion it prevents, allays, and terminates quarrels, the great disturbers of human happiness, and the great sources of human misery, so far as man's happiness and misery depend upon man:" If nothing more can be said in favour of the former, that is the heroick character, even in point of utility, "than what is true of many qualities which are acknowledged to be vicious;" nothing more than what is true of envy itself, that most malignant and disgraceful of human passions; and if "it was a portion of the latter," that is, the Christian "character, or rather of his love of that character which our Saviour displayed, in his repeated correction of the ambition of his disciples; his frequent admonitions, that greatness with them was to consist in humility; his censure of that love of distinction and greediness of superiority, which the chief persons among his countrymen were wont, on all occasions, great and little, to betray." If these things are so, and so they are represented to be by our author, whence is it "sufficiently apparent, that the precepts" on which he founds this representation, "or rather the disposition which these precepts inculcate, relate to personal conduct from personal motives? to cases in which men act from impulse for themselves and from themselves?" And that "when it comes to be considered what is necessary to be done for the sake of the publick, and out of regard to the general welfare, it comes to a case to which the rules do not belong?"

Is a disposition, or, to speak more properly, a character on which "the tranquillity of social life" and "the happiness of man" confessedly "depend," to be confined to "personal conduct from personal motives?" Are Christians to relinquish the peaceful, forbearing, benevolent spirit of their Master, the moment they are called to act in

a corporate capacity? Are they no sooner to move "in publick stations," and be clothed with publick authority, than "the consideration of what is necessary to be done for the sake of the publick, and out of regard to the general welfare" is "exclusively to govern," or, in other terms, essentially to change "their duties? to justify a dereliction of all the feelings and habits which the gospel requires, and to superinduce a paramount obligation, not only to cherish, but to disseminate their opposites?

It is obvious to remark, that beyond its declaration, not a single step can be taken in the conduct of war, till a large portion of the community is imbued with the spirit of hatred toward the obnoxious nation: and in exact accordance with this remark, it is a notorious fact, that whenever war is contemplated, no pains are spared to excite and diffuse that spirit. So that the distinction in review, instead of only limiting, absolutely nullifies the precepts to which it is applied; and furnishes a pretext for the unbounded indulgence of the most rancorous and destructive passions of our nature: a pretext under which, not a few solitary individuals, but populous kingdoms and states are often embroiled, and "confusion, and every evil work ensue:" a pretext under which all that is desirable to humanity is put at hazard; "the tender charities of father, son, and brother" are disregarded; scenes of crime and misery, of carnage and desolation are multiplied; and with the wailings of parents, widows, and orphans, are blended the barbarous shouts of victory, the Bacchanalian songs of exultation over a fallen foe, the vociferous applause of the sanguinary bands who have slain their thousands. Nor is this all: beside the insult and abuse, the calamity and distress mutually inflicted and suffered by the contending powers, each is simultaneously laying a foundation for an immense aggregate of guilt and misery among its own sub-

jects. The vindictive temper of war, transfused into families and neighbourhoods, inevitably generates a growing propensity to anger and malevolence in domestick and social life. Not the soldier only, but every other person, of whatever age, sex, or condition, who has been inured to delight in the savage idea of retaliating national aggressions, is led, by a natural and easy transition, to deem it pusilanimous and base to brook the slightest personal injury, and, of course, becomes habitually, if not incurably, querulous and revengeful.

"Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth!" In addition to the wide-spread havock and ruin, mark the deep rooted depravity and lasting wretchedness which flow directly from admitting, that "the general welfare" may, in any case, warrant and obligate men to dispense with the meekness, humility, and love, peculiar to the followers of Christ! An admission against which Saint Paul constructively enters his protest, when he repels the charge, and reprobates the principle of "doing evil that good may come:" an admission which, even the virtuous heathen disclaimed. Themistocles once requested the people of Athens, "that some person might be appointed to confer with him upon a scheme of the greatest consequence, which was of such a nature as to require secrecy. The eyes of the whole assembly were instantly directed to Aristides, upon whose judgment they could depend. Themistocles communicated to him a project for burning the fleet of the allies, as an infallible means of making Athens the umpire of all Greece. The report of Aristides was, that nothing could be more advantageous than the designs of Themistocles; but, at the same time, that nothing could be more iniquitous. The votes were unanimously on the side of justice" and humanity.

Let us imagine, for a moment, that, in the place of the foregoing, Aristides had reported, that the design of Themistocles was, indeed, unjust and cruel, but highly beneficial; and that, since "the consideration of what was necessary to be done for the sake of the publick, and out of regard to the general welfare, ought, for the most part, *exclusively* to govern the duties of men in publick stations," he entertained no doubt of its propriety, and recommended its immediate execution! Let us imagine, too, that the Athenians had complied with this recommendation, and we shall have a practical illustration of the theory, against which I except, in contrast with that, for which I contend.

The truth is, that the unsophisticated dictates of nature concur with the authoritative voice of revelation, to enjoin a patient, unassuming, beneficent disposition and deportment, upon every son and daughter of Adam, in every condition, relation, and exigence of life. Our Lord makes no distinctions between the different classes and descriptions of mankind, excepting such as arise from their different capacities, opportunities, and means of doing good; but represents it to be the duty of every one "constantly to have in view, not his own interest and gratification, alone, but the happiness and comfort of those about him:" a rule which Doctor Paley himself elsewhere lays down,* as fairly deducible from the gospel of our salvation; and which, he pertinently observes, "will never fail to make him, who obeys it, *considerate*, not only of the rights, but of the feelings of other men, bodily and mental, in great matters and in small, of the ease, the accommodation, the self-complacency of all with whom he has any concern, especially of all who are in his power, or dependent upon his will."† Who does not instantly perceive, that, if the

* "Evidences of Christianity," p. 211. † Ib. p. 212.

constant observance of this rule, with a constant reference to these effects, be incumbent upon us, war, and even rudeness, are incompatible with our holy religion? . . . . . But, sir, I may not enlarge; and, therefore, deferring what I have further to say upon this subject, to some future time, I subscribe myself, your obedient, humble servant,

EIRENIKOS.

SEVENTEEN MURDERS.

"ON the 19th of April last, a Spaniard, named Jose Florentino Harra, aged 27 years, was executed in Havanna for the murder of a Commissary, or Justice of the peace. The day before he was executed, he made confession under oath, 'that he had committed *seventeen murders:* eight in Havanna, and nine elsewhere.' He proceeded to particulars, named most of the persons he had murdered, the places where the murders were committed, and, in the greater number of instances, he mentioned the cause or reason of his conduct.

"The first murder was committed 'after orisons, and through jealousy, as to a woman.' In the second instance, 'the cause was, having pursued him as a *deserter.*' In the third, he murdered a negro; the cause was, 'his having *stared at him.*' Another man he murdered, 'on account of some *variance with him.*'—Another, because he presumed he was *following him.* Another, 'because that playing pawpaw, he had some difference with him.' The twelfth, he murdered, because, having lent him a sash, he refused to return it. He murdered a sailor with whom he had a quarrel about the *Spanish name;* and, finally, he murdered the mate of the same vessel, because the mate suspected him of throwing the sailor overboard."

Such is the newspaper account of the career of this inhuman Spaniard. Who does not weep for the "ferociousness of man," while he reads such narratives! *seven-*

teen murders by one man! what a monster! but others can boast of having killed a far greater number than this; and still their narratives are listened to, with pleasure, their names and their deeds are eulogized, and their examples held in admiration!

The causes or reasons for these seventeen murders, must unquestionably appear to the reader, perfectly inadequate, to justify the deeds. Let him, then, turn over the pages of history, and he will find an almost endless catalogue of wars, which were commenced by the rulers of nations, on grounds as frivolous, as those of the Spaniard's.

How often has "jealousy as to a woman," been made the ground of war by bloody minded princes? in several cases, the Spaniard made war on the principle of Dr. M'Leod, "for redressing or preventing actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted." It is not certain that he had ever read the Doctor's five discourses, but he seems to have been of the opinion which the Doctor has avowed —that "as to the *equity* of the war, little depends on the magnitude of the injury." Accordingly he killed one man for refusing to return, a *borrowed* "*sash*." Another, for "pursuing him as a deserter;" another, because he presumed he was *following him;* another, "because he suspected him of throwing the sailor overboard;" another, in a quarrel about the *Spanish name;* and another for having "*stared* at him." It would be easy for a man, of this Spaniard's turn of mind, to bring all these cases within the Doctor's "definition of DEFENSIVE WARFARE;" and rulers have often been as dexterous as this Spaniard, in finding pretexts for war.

The first murder "was committed after *orisons*," that is, after prayers. In like manner many sanguinary battles have been fought. But when people have become so hardened or so deluded, as to associate *prayer* and *murder*,

nothing but divine Providence can set the bounds to the mischief which they may do, or to the crimes they may commit. Had the Spaniard, in his narrative, wholly omitted the circumstance of his having been "pursued as a *deserter*," it would still have been natural to infer, that his education was in the camp, where the *art of killing* is taught by publick authority, as a professional employment.

ON THE CELEBRATION OF VICTORIES.

Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth,——
Lest the Lord see it and it displease him.

THERE is, perhaps, no point relating to war, the discussion of which would be more likely to give offence, than that of celebrating victories. For in every nation, whether Pagan, Mahometan or Christian, some mode of celebration has been customary; and the custom has been countenanced by men of respectability both in church and state. The modes of celebration have indeed been various in different ages and different countries; but there seems to have been a very general belief that some mode of exultation and triumph is proper and justifiable.

It is therefore, needful to assure the reader, that to reproach men who have been concerned in celebrations is far from the heart of the writer. He has been an actor on such occasions; and from experience he has some knowledge of their nature and tendency. He believes that many good men have on such occasions, acted without due reflection, and under the influence of popular custom, and a belief that the custom was commendable. In censuring the custom, the writer must testify against his

own former views and practice, as well as the views and practice of others.

Although the custom has been of long standing, its propriety should not be taken for granted; but, like other customs and questions relating to war, it should be carefully examined. Too long have Christians been in the habit of confiding implicitly in the correctness of traditions received from their fathers,—many of which were probably derived from Pagan Ancestors.

There is, moreover, a special reason for an impartial examination of this point; for no other thing perhaps can be named, which has a more delusive, or a more powerful influence in favour of war, than the celebration of victories. They have, in this age, the same kind of influence that the Roman triumphs had in former ages; they are the fuel of war, the means of inspiring men with desperate ambition and ferocious bravery. Indeed, this custom furnishes a large proportion of "the steam which works the engine." Men fight to be praised; nor will they fight on lower terms.

The Roman triumphs are now generally censured as inhuman. But they were once as popular as any mode of celebration now is among Christians. From this fact we may infer a probability that every mode of celebration which is popular in the present age, will, in a more improved state of society, be regarded with as much abhorrence as we now look back on the triumphs of Rome.

Let it then be seriously asked, in what light are the usual celebrations of victories to be regarded? Whose praises are celebrated on such occasions? Are the offerings usually made to God, or to men? Are they *religious* offerings, or are they *irreligious?* Is the conduct of peo-

ple on such occasions usually such that a benevolent God can regard it with complacency?

Can the kind Father of all be pleased to see a company of his children exulting in a conquest, which they have obtained by the slaughter and misery of thousands of their brethren? Is a conquest obtained at the expense of rivers of human blood, and the sufferings of an indefinite number of fellow beings, a proper occasion for festivity, mirth and triumph? Do we believe that our heavenly Father is such a blood-thirsty being, that he can have complacency in scenes like these! If we regard the sacrifices as offerings to the Lord, may he not justly address us in the language of reproof—"*Who hath required this at your hand?*" *I hate your festivals*—"YOUR HANDS ARE FULL OF BLOOD."

But if these celebrations are not offerings to the Lord, to whom, or to what are they made? If they are made to men, what is the custom better than idolatry or paganism?

Again, what is the *tendency* of such celebrations? Do they excite love and gratitude to the great Preserver of men? Do they excite those tender affections which the children of God should exercise towards all their brethren? Do they excite and cherish that heavenly charity, which is, "long-suffering and kind, which envieth not, which vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own?" Are they productive of temperance in all things, and that meek and quiet spirit which is in the sight of God of great price? Let conscience answer these questions, as in the presence of him who will be our judge.

If these scenes of celebration have not a pious and benevolent tendency, but the contrary, can they be worthy of a Christian people, or be justified on Christian principles?

There is one view of the subject which should be more distinctly considered. The glaring *inhumanity* implied in such celebrations, is enough to fill every reflecting and benevolent mind with horrour. Great victories are usually obtained by great slaughter. The rulers of nations call together armies of men, who have not the least ground of complaint against each other, and no enmity but what has been excited by the most unjustifiable means. These armies are then urged and commanded to shed each others blood. They fight for fame, for plunder, or to please their rulers. Thousands fall on each side, and thousands more are tortured with wounds. Parents are made childless, children fatherless, and wives converted into widows. But one of these armies gains a victory, and this victory is celebrated with festivity, pomp, parade and triumph.—Can any thing, but the horrours of the field of battle, be more revolting to a benevolent mind!

Had none fallen but the declared enemies of the victors, the triumph would be both inhuman and anti-christian. What then shall we say, when hundreds or thousands have also been slaughtered on the part of the victorious army; and an indefinite number converted into mourners, and filled with anxiety and wo!

If it be the object of such celebrations to divert the attention of people from the crimes and horrours of war—to prevent all serious reflection on the subject—to bewilder and intoxicate the minds of the multitude, and prepare them for future havock; it cannot be denied that the means is adapted to the end. But is it possible to believe, that "with such sacrifices God is well pleased?"

Let us, for a moment, step aside from the delusive glare of publick victories and celebrations, that we may have a more clear and impartial view of the subject under consideration. On the usual principles of war a more private

battle was once fought in our country, between two celebrated individuals, Hamilton and Burr. The war was proclaimed by Burr on the supposition of "actual injuries inflicted, or about to be inflicted." The battle was fought, and Hamilton fell. The victory of Burr was obtained at the expense of Hamilton's life, and an affecting scene of grief and distress to his family and friends.

Suppose, then, that while Hamilton lay in the agonies of death, surrounded with his afflicted family, the friends of Burr had met, at a neighbouring hotel, to celebrate the glorious victory—and had conducted, as men usually do in celebrating victories obtained in war: is there a man in the United States, worthy of the name of a Christian, a Philanthropist, or a gentleman, who would not have abhorred such a scene of inhumanity?

But if this would have been inhuman, when but one man had fallen, and but one family was dereaved,—how much more inhuman must it be, when thousands have fallen, and tens of thousands are subjected to "mourning, lamentation and wo!"

It will probably be said, that celebrations are necessary to keep alive martial ardour, and that if they should be discarded, the spirit of military heroism would soon languish and expire. Be it even so; the sooner it shall die the better. Happy for the world will be the time, when it shall be both dead and buried. For what must be the nature of that spirit, which requires such inhumanity to nourish and keep it alive? and which will offer *human sacrifices* by thousands, if its ferocious exploits can be celebrated by an *inhuman triumph!*

This spirit, instead of being a protection and a blessing to mankind, is the *curse* of nations, the *mildew* of the universe. It blasts or renders insecure the fairest earthly prospects of the human family; and it costs more to feed

and support it, than would be requisite to keep a regular, pacifick free-school, for every ten families on the face of the earth, and to preserve peace throughout the world.

If the rulers of nations, instead of bestowing their praises on this desolating spirit, and sacrificing the lives and property of their subjects in its support, would employ their influence and means in cultivating the arts, the principles, and the spirit of peace and good will among men, the inhabitants of the world would soon exclaim, "behold how good and how pleasant it is, for brethren to dwell together in unity!"

What mean these showy and these noisy signs
Of publick joy, my senses that salute,
That bid my cares disperse, my brows be smooth,
And all my soul be holiday? What means
The cannon's roar, that tears the shatter'd sky?
The jolly peal, the merry steeples pour?
At dead of night along the splendid street,
This dazzling luxury of festive light
From every window flung—wherefore thus laughs,
This hour of gloom?
Say, hath the African his freedom found?
Spite of his shade, at length confess'd a man,
Nor longer crushed because he is not white?
This were a jubilee for heaven to share.

But, ah! 'tis not,
For this ambitious night affects the day.
Sing Iopean, Iopean sing——
A multitude of eyes at which the heart
Look'd laughing out upon the day are clos'd—
They never more shall look! illume, illume
The glowing streets! nor let one window rob
The general rapture of one beam it owes!

This is the event,
The fair event, to polish'd bosoms dear,
In polish'd life that lights this blaze of joy.
For this, the cannon's roaring thumps the ear,
For this their merry peal the steeples pour,
For this dun night, her raven hue resigns,
And with this galaxy of tapers starr'd
Rivals the pomp of noon! Hence flows the joy
That calls the city swarms from out their cells,
Laughs in each eye, and dances in each heart.
All to the feast, the feast of blood repair,
The high, the low, old men and prattling babes,
Young men and maidens, all to grace the feast,
Light footed trip,—the feast, the feast of blood!
Yes—glory, glory, glory, is the word—
See how it glitters all along the street!

Mankind, wild race! say, are your moons to blame
That this demoniack, worse than dogstar madness!
'Mong *all* your nations in each age hath foam'd?

FAWCETT.

INCREASE OF CRIMES AND CONVICTS, ACCOUNTED FOR, AND A REMEDY PROPOSED.

"THE New-York State Prison, is overflowing with convicts. The present number is 722, although the prison was calculated for 500. The inspectors of the prison, in an address to the legislature of New-York, after stating that the number of prisoners was so great as to render frequent *pardons indispensable*, request the legislature to recommend to the general government, the establishment of a colony on the north-west coast of America, at or near Columbia River, or at Madison Island, to which convicts may be transported. If the general government should

object to this plan, they recommend, that the New-York legislature establish such a colony, on the frontiers of the state."—*Recorder. No.* 48. *Nov.* 26, 1816.

In view of this extraordinary paragraph, religion and humanity unite in asking the following questions:—

First. How may we rationally account for this increase of crimes, and of convicts?

Second. What opinion should we entertain of the project for settling a colony, by the transportation of criminals?

Third. What course can be adopted better than the one proposed?

The complaint of an increase of crimes, and of convicts, is not confined to New-York; it is so general in our country, that it is time to investigate the causes, and, if possible, to apply some remedy.

The natural increase of population may, perhaps, account for some portion of the evil. The influx of foreigners who had been inured to crime, during the wars of Europe, may account for a still greater portion. But may we stop here? No, verily. What other cause, then, may be assigned? the enormous increase of crimes and convicts, complained of, has principally occurred within four years.—Now let it be observed, that within *five* years, our country has expended one hundred, perhaps one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, in supporting "*a school of vice.*" Is it not probable that this expense, considering the opportunity which the scholars had to learn, would produce some effects? can such a number of scholars, as were educated in the business of pillage and piracy, robbery and murder, under the sanction of publick authority, be let loose upon the community without some display of the proficiency they had made? what better is to be expected

of them, when deprived of the pay they had been accustomed to receive for such business, than that they should follow their trade for private advantage? by such an education, the habits of men are easily formed; but, perhaps not so easily relinquished. Many of them on entering the school, might be struck with horrour at the deeds they witnessed; but, by continuing in the school, those deeds became familiar and congenial to their feelings and habits. Having formed habits of idleness and vice, on returning home, many of them would feel an aversion to labour, and would prefer their more recent employment for obtaining a subsistence.

Many of the scholars had, probably, made considerable advances in vice, before they entered the publick school; and such of these, as survived the war, may be supposed to have become adepts in the arts of mischief. After having been disbanded, they would be very likely to show the community, that money had not been expended on them, for schooling, without effect. Others were young when they entered the school, and destitute of fixed habits of virtue; they would readily yield to the instructions to be obtained in such a situation; and soon learn to practice the vices, which they were taught by precept and example. Some, who had formed good habits before they entered the school, might be slow to adopt the vices of the camp; and a few might hold fast their integrity, and return to their friends uncontaminated. But examples of this class, are very rare.

Had there, then, been no other way to account for the increase of crimes and convicts, but that of the "school of vice," we might have rationally accounted for the whole. Had all the scholars lived till the school was generally dismissed, and had all these been turned out of employment at once, the number of crimes and convicts would, probably, have filled the country with dismay, from Mississippi

to Maine. But a large number of the scholars died, while obtaining their education, and many are still retained in the school, and will probably end their days in that situation. It is, however, to be observed, that, although crimes may be more frequent in our cities, than they were during the war, it does not follow, that they are more frequent in the United States, nor that there is now a greater number of men who deserve to be confined in state prisons. To many, perhaps, the "school of vice," was a substitute for a state prison; and in this school, they could commit felonious deeds of the deepest dye, with impunity. Pillage, piracy, robbery and murder, were the arts which they were taught, the employments which were assigned them, and the deeds for which they were paid and praised.* It will,

* Erasmus, in his letter on war, to the Abbot of St. Bertin says,—"do consider a moment, by what sort of persons it is actually carried into execution;—by a herd of cut-throats, debauchees, gamesters, profligate wretches from the stews, the meanest and most sordid of mankind, hireling man-killers, to whom a little pay is dearer than life. These are your *fine fellows in war*, who commit the same villanies with *reward* and with *glory* in the field of battle, which in society, they formerly perpetrated at the peril of the gallows.

"Besides all this, consider what crimes are committed under the pretence of war, while the voice of salutary law is compelled to be silent amidst the din of arms: what plunder, what sacrilege, what ravages, what other indecent transactions, which cannot for shame be enumerated. Such a taint of mens' morals cannot but continue its influence after a war is terminated." "What do you suppose the Turks think, when they hear of Christian kings raging against each other with all the madness of so many devils let loose?"

It is presumed that it was not the intention of Erasmus to apply his description of "fine-fellows in war" to *all* who followed that dreadful occupation; but that armies in general, have been in a considerable measure composed of such men as he described,

perhaps, be said, that the scholars were not taught or allowed to pillage, rob, and murder the people of the United States. And only such as had been declared enemies by the government; and that such acts, when committed against declared enemies, are of a different nature from those committed against their fellow citizens. *Of a different nature!* —In what respect? is not the evil to the sufferers the same in both cases? is not the temper usually displayed the same in both cases? are not the acts in both cases contrary to the rule, "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even the same to them?"

All men are brethren, and they are bound to love one another. Nor is it in the power of any government on earth, to dissolve the relation of brethren, or to absolve its subjects from their obligation to love their brethren of another tribe or state. Nor is there any man, of common sense and serious reflection, who can regard such acts of rapine, revenge and violence, as the proper fruits of love. And if not, what better excuse can be made for them, than the deplorable influence of custom, by which men are led to call evil good, and good evil?

How great a number of the convicts were educated in the publick school, I know not. Many who were thus instructed, may have been concerned in educating others for state prisons. But, being more expert in mischief than their pupils, they may have escaped, while their inexperienced disciples have been ensnared and taken.

Second. Our next inquiry is, what views should we entertain of the project for settling a colony with convicts?

As the experiment has been made in other countries, we should consider what has been its effects. From some articles in the Philanthropist, on transporting convicts to

truth and candour will never deny. Nor will they deny, that such wretches have often been eulogized as the saviours and the glory of their country.

Botany Bay, it appears, that the utility of the project is very questionable; that it is far from operating favourably, as an example to prevent the commission of crimes; that it has no tendency to reform the convicts, and that many of them return to Great Britain, "two-fold more the children of hell, than before." Indeed, it would be very natural to suppose, that a colony settled with such beings, would be a kind of hell upon earth, and as little adapted to reform a convict, as the more popular "school of vice."

Should a colony be settled by such men, on the north-west coast of America, what great obstacles would there be in the way of their escape to the United States, or to other places, where they would be equally mischievous? and what an influence would they have on the minds of the natives, to prepossess them against the christian religion!

Should such a settlement be made on the frontiers of New-York, what security would their be that the exiles would not renew their depredations on society? who would be willing to settle on the adjacent lands? and would not such a colony be very likely to occasion hostilities with the Indian tribes, if not with Great Britain?

If these convicts are to exist any where on earth, they should, unquestionably, be placed in situations which are, at once, favourable to their reformation, and to the safety of society. Regarding them as brethren, we should seek their good. Regarding them as accountable beings, we should seek to reform and save them. As many of them have been ruined in the publick "school of vice," we should regard them with compassion.

Moreover, we should regard as brethren, our fellow beings of other states and countries, and not wantonly cast on them a brood of vipers of our own raising, or a class of beings who have, at great expense, been trained to mischief among ourselves. If a parent, by mismanagement, has ru-

ined his children, is it benevolent in him to cast the burden of their vices on other people?

Third. What possible course can be adopted preferable to that of transportation or banishment? what can be done with convicts when the state prisons are full? or what better method than exile, can be proposed to prevent the increase of crimes and convicts?

The state prisons, as they are now conducted, are a great improvement in the police of our country. But these improvements are, probably, capable of being greatly improved, and of being much better adapted to the reformation of the unhappy tenants. It should be a part of the study of statesmen, of Philanthropists, and of Christians, to devise ways and means, adapted to reform the vicious. If more such prisons are needful, they can be provided; and probably, more should be provided. For crowding convicts together in large numbers, tends to prevent rather than promote reformation.

It is not, however, compatible with my present object, nor can I pretend to the requisite information, to give a detailed account of what may and ought to be done, for the reformation of such criminals. But all that can be done, should be done, by kind treatment, good instruction, and benevolent example. Harsh and haughty treatment of convicts, is like harsh and haughty preaching to sinners in general. It may, for a time, excite terrour, but it ultimately hardens the heart. Convicts, as well as other men, are more likely to be *drawn* than *driven* to reformation.

Transportation has no tendency to diminish the number of either crimes or convicts. Crimes are crimes, in whatever part of the world they may be committed: and convicts are convicts, after transportation as well as before. If this mode would diminish the evils among ourselves, it would be by multiplying them in other places. But methods may be adopted, which would tend, not only to

prevent an increase of convicts, but to diminish the present number. Let as great liberality be shown by the government and the people, for the support of schools of virtue and peace, as they have shown in supporting schools of vice and war, and they will soon find a surprising change in the state of publick morals. And they ought certainly to be as ready to pay money for schools of reformation, as for schools of depravity.

Men, who lost their morals and their disposition to earn a subsistence in useful occupations, by being sent to the "school of vice," have as strong claims on the government and on the community, as those who became cripples or invalids. Not, indeed, because crime and decrepitude are of the same nature—for they are not; but because, both the convict and the invalid were *really injured* by being sent to such a school: or if you please to say, that the invalid was injured in the *service of his country*, you may say the same of the convict. And surely it ought not to be regarded as a more serious injury for a man to be deprived of a leg or an arm, than to be deprived of a sense of moral obligations, or of regular habits of industry.

In whatever manner a man has been really injured by the measures of government, he has a claim on publick compassion. Let then a suitable portion of publick property be devoted to the purpose of providing, in the best manner, for the reformation of convicts, and of others, who have been injured in the "school of vice." Thus the number of those already on the list will be annually decreasing, by death or reformation, and probably by both. The property thus devoted, if judiciously managed, will operate both as a "*sinking fund*" and a "*saving bank.*"

But a still greater portion of property should be devoted to the rising generation, in training them up in habits of virtue, industry and peace, to prevent their becoming successors to the present class of convicts and ruined men.

We will first suppose the expense and waste of the late war to be one hundred millions of dollars. Now let it be asked—Had this enormous sum been judiciously appropriated for the support of schools of virtue, useful knowledge and industry, would there have been such ground for the present complaints of an increase of crimes and convicts? It is no presumption to say—*there would not.*

Let it be further supposed, that, at the commencement of the late war, there were, in the United States, *three millions* of children and young people, who were, capable of profiting in schools of virtue and peace, and that these were divided into classes of thirty scholars each. This would have made a hundred thousand schools; and the hundred millions of dollars would have paid a *hundred thousand instructors* for three years, at the rate of one thousand dollars each for that term of time, or $333⅓ annually.

This compensation would, indeed, have been small, compared with what is given to instructors in the "school of vice," and in some parts of the country it would have been very inadequate; but on an average through the United States it might have been sufficient. If not, it would have been easy to remedy the defect by diminishing the number of instructors, and assigning to each a greater number of scholars.

Had a plan of this benevolent character been adopted, instead of the "school of vice," what a favourable influence it might have had on the morals of our country! Men are as capable of being benefited by a virtuous education, as of being ruined by a vicious one. The present depravity of the nations of Christendom, is more to be ascribed to the neglect of virtuous education, and the influence of sanguinary schools and customs, than to any other causes whatever.

It may be said, that according to the calculation for a hundred thousand schools of virtue, the hundred millions

of dollars would have been expended on the youth, and nothing left to provide for the reformation of convicts.

To this it may be replied,—that probably the expense and waste of property by the war, was enough more than the hundred millions of dollars, to make the most ample provision for convicts, and for those who still live by pillage, piracy, and robbery. But if not enough, you may add to the overplus of the hundred millions in the late war, what has since been expended in preparing for another. Then you will probably have a sum sufficient to give every convict such a pension that he can afford to give up his trade, and retire from business. And it may be submitted to the reader's reflection, whether it would not be as rational, as christian, and as well for the country, to expend the publick revenue in *hiring* thieves, robbers and pirates to renounce their employments, as in preparing others to follow their dreadful examples.

Had the property and the time which have been wasted in Christendom within a century, for the support of sanguinary customs and schools of depravity, been wisely appropriated for meliorating the condition, and improving the character of the human family, the world at this period might have been a paradise, compared with its present situation. But, while the rulers of Christendom have pretended to favour the interests of virtue and religion, they have expended the treasures and the blood of their subjects in supporting schools and customs, which tended to defeat the very design of Christianity, and to render abortive every effort for the reformation of mankind. Considering the immense sums which have been expended for schools of depravity, and how popular the savage exploits of war have been; instead of having any reason to wonder that there are so many thieves and robbers, pirates and murderers, we have reason to be thankful that the number is not greater by ten to one.

Shall then the rulers of Christian nations be any longer encouraged in supporting a custom which tends to fill their respective countries with crimes and malefactors, and which makes such a wanton and immense sacrifice of property, happiness and life? Shall not all who wish to be regarded as Christians, or as men of virtue and humanity, cordially unite, to encourage rulers, to abolish the "school of vice," and to make a fair experiment of the power, the tendency, and the value of Christian education?

It not only *may* be expected, but, in fact, it *is* expected, that the habits and characters of men will be, in a great degree, influenced and formed by their education, their pursuits, and their mode of obtaining a subsistence. Accordingly, we do not expect to see the mild, benign, and forbearing virtues of the gospel, in those who have been educated in hostile camps, or in ships of war; nor do we expect to see the ferocious, revengeful and blood-thirsty ambition of the warriour, in those who have been educated as Quakers or Moravians. There may be exceptions, in both cases, but they are exceptions to a general rule—and so uncommon, that they excite wonder when they occur. Let a pacifick education become popular, thorough and universal, and the nations will learn war no more. When the fountain is dried up, the streams will cease to flow; when governments shall have done authorizing rapine and murder by their own laws and examples, crimes will be less frequent, and convicts less numerous.*

* Since this article was prepared for the press, I have seen, in a newspaper, an account of a discussion in a Legislature, in which one of the parties imputed the increase of crimes and convicts to the existence of Penitentiaries or state prisons. The publick will now judge, which of the modes of accounting for these evils is the most rational.

CAUSES OF WAR, BY ERASMUS.

"It is a truth to be lamented, rather than denied, that if any one examines the matter carefully and faithfully, he will find almost all the wars of Christians to have originated either in *folly* or in *wickedness*.

"First in *folly;* as for instance, young men, born to rule, totally unacquainted with themselves and the world about them, have been inflamed, with the love of martial glory, by the bad examples of their forefathers, and the silly stories of heroes, as they are called, in which foolish writers have trumpeted the fame of foolish princes. Our Iliad, or history of war, like Homer's Iliad, contains, as Horace says, nothing but a history of the wrath of silly kings, and of people as silly as they.

"Next, as I said, our wars arise from *wickedness*. There are kings who go to war for no other reason, than that they may with greater ease establish despotick authority over their own subjects at home. For in a time of peace, the power of parliaments, the dignity of magistrates, the vigour of the laws, are great impediments to a prince who wishes to exercise arbitrary power. But when once a war is undertaken, the chief management devolves to a few, who call themselves ministers of executive government; and who, for the general safety, assume the privilege of conducting every thing according to their own humour, demanding unlimited confidence from the people, and the profoundest secrecy. These persons, in such a conjuncture, who are the prince's favourites, are all exalted to places of honour and profit; and those whom the prince dislikes are turned off and neglected, as forming a dangerous opposition.

"Now is the time for raising as much money as their hearts can wish. In short, now is the time when they feel, that they are monarchs not in name only, but in very deed and truth, *monarchs with a vengeance*. In the mean time, the leaders play into one another's hands, till they have eaten up the people, root and branch."

Such views of the causes of war, were written by Erasmus, about three hundred years ago. Had he lived from that day to this, he would probably have seen no reason for altering his opinion. Is it not then desirable, that people, in general, should be better informed on this subject; that they should understand the nature of these *moral volcanoes*, and the true causes of their frequent *eruptions*, that the proper remedies may be applied.

Let writers cease to trumpet the praises of "foolish princes" and wicked men, who have sacrificed the blood and happiness of their fellow beings on the altars of their ungodly ambition; or, rather, let the characters and conduct of such inhuman monsters, be exhibited in its true light, then few will be disposed to follow their destructive examples.

But as long as writers shall be so "foolish" as to applaud men for mischief, and the people love to have it so; as long as they can glory in the sanguinary deeds of their ancestors, and rehearse, with delight, the worse than "silly stories of heroes," as the most abandoned murderers are often called! so long we may expect that the earth will be filled with violence and war, and that Christian nations will have "blood to drink," as a recompense for their folly in praising the destroyers of mankind.

APPLICATION OF MR. WILLIAM PITT'S ANSWER TO THE PROPOSITION FOR A GRADUAL ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In the course of the debates in the British House of Commons, on the motion for abolishing the slave-trade, a proposition was made for a "*gradual abolition.*" In sup-

port of this proposition, various arguments were advanced by gentlemen who admitted the trade to be a *moral evil.*

"Mr. *Pitt* rejoiced that the debate had taken a turn which contracted the question into narrow limits. The matter then in dispute was merely as to the time at which the abolition should take place."

He reasoned thus :—

"Why ought it to be abolished at all? Because it is an incurable injustice—a moral evil. How much stronger, then, is the argument for immediate, than gradual, abolition! If, on the ground of a moral evil, it is to be abolished at last, why ought it not now? Why is injustice to be suffered to remain for a single hour?"

"I will now notice the objection, that other nations would not give up the slave-trade if we were to renounce it. If the trade is stained but by a thousandth part of the criminality charged upon it, the House ought immediately to vote its abolition. This miserable argument, if persevered in, would be an eternal bar to the annihilation of the evil. How is it ever to be eradicated, if every nation is thus prudentially to wait till the concurrence of all the world shall be obtained?

"How much more justly will other nations say, Great-Britain, free as she is, just and honourable as she is, not only has not abolished, but has refused to abolish the slave-trade. She has investigated it well. Her Senate has deliberated upon it. It is plain, then, that she sees no evil in it. With this argument we should furnish the other nations of Europe, if we were again to refuse to put an end to this cruel traffick.

"Already we have suffered one year to pass away; and now, when the question is renewed, not only has this wretched argument been revived, but a proposition is made for the *gradual abolition* of the trade. I know, indeed, the difficulty of reforming long established abuses; but, in the present case, by proposing some other period than the present, by prescribing some condition, by waiting for some contingency, perhaps, till we have

obtained the concurrence of Europe—a concurrence which, I believe, never yet took place at the commencement of any one improvement in policy or morals. I fear that this most enormous evil will never be redressed. Is it not folly to wait for the stream to run down before we cross the bed of its channel? Alas! we might wait for ever. The river will still flow on. We shall be no nearer the object we have in view, so long as the step, which alone can bring us to it, is not taken."

Such was the reasoning of Mr. Pitt against the plan for a "gradual abolition" of the slave-trade. Let it then be applied for the *immediate* abolition of war.

Is not war as clearly a "moral evil" as the slave trade? Can it exist but by injustice, wickedness and murder? If not, why should it be tolerated for a single day? Is it not the duty of every man to do all he can for the immediate destruction of a monster, which has its very existence in sin, and which lives on human sacrifices?

Governments, in dealing with pirates, robbers, and incendiaries, never think of proposing to these culprits a *gradual* abolition of their abominable trades. Nor should rulers be less prompt in abolishing their own vicious customs, than they wish subjects to be in abolishing theirs. To propose a "gradual abolition" of war, would be as absurd, or indeed the same thing, as to propose a gradual abolition of injustice, piracy, rapine, and human butchery.

The great objection against an immediate abolition of the slave-trade, was, that other nations would not give it up if Great Britain "should renounce it." A similar objection is now made against the abolition of war. But why may not a gang of thieves or robbers make the same plea, and refuse to give up their disgraceful occupation till all of the same trade shall be agreed for its abolition?

Let it, however, be remembered, that Great Britain *did* abolish the slave-trade, before it was known that any

other nation of Europe would follow the example. What have been the consequences? One government after another has had its eyes opened, and given up the trade; and there is now a great probability that every government in Europe will soon set its face against this evil. Had our government and that of Great Britain done no more than to decree a "gradual abolition;" it is probable that the slave-trade, with all its horrours, would have been popular at the present time.

Such is the natural course of events. As soon as we can be certain that one nation has fully determined to abolish war; we may be sure that others will follow the example. Let those who formed the "Holy League," but adhere to its principles, and all the nations of Europe will abandon the savage custom.

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY.

All human institutions are stamped with imperfection; and the best of them are capable of being improved by time and experience. Considering the circumstances under which the Massachusetts Peace Society originated, the smallness of its funds, and the powerful prepossessions it had to encounter, it was not to be expected that the first Report of its officers, would contain a list of facts either very numerous, splendid, or interesting. Such an institution, like a child in its infancy, requires time to grow up and come to maturity. Its first efforts will naturally be feeble, and often display the want of that wisdom which experience alone can give.

Some inconvenience appears to have resulted from the want of a matured system of operation; and a consequent delay of distributing publications according to the directions of the board.

Excepting the Circular Letter, the distribution of pamphlets was of a date so recent, that little information of their effect could be expected at this time. Still, something has been done in the course of the year; some impression has been made, and effects produced; and some information has been received favourable to the objects of the society.

Two thousand and five hundred copies of a Circular Letter were printed, and the greater part of them have been distributed in the United States. Some copies have been sent to Europe, and some to the neighbouring British Provinces.

An edition of two thousand copies of the Sermon on War, by the Rev. Mr. Channing, has been printed at the expense of the society.

In refunding the half of the annual subscription, it was the aim of the committee to furnish each member with two copies of the Sermon on War, one copy of a Solemn Review of the Custom of War, and three numbers of the Friend of Peace, including what had been received by many of the members, of No. 4. The six pamphlets, at the wholesale price, amounted, precisely, to the half dollar to be refunded.

In compliance with the vote of the board, the committee have sent to the several Colleges in New-England, thirty-eight complete sets of all the publications, which have been circulated by the society, namely, the Circular Letter, the Solemn Review, six numbers of the Friend of Peace, and the Sermon on War. One set was assigned to each College Library, and one to each literary society in the several Colleges, "known to have a Library."

A set of all the publications, except the Circular Letter, has been presented to several gentlemen who had contributed to the funds of the society, without becoming members; but they are gentlemen whom the society would gladly acknowledge as members, should it be their pleasure to give their names for that purpose.

In addition to what has been done by distributing the Sermon on War, gratuitously, some copies of the Solemn Review, and of the Friend of Peace have been sent to members, as agents; and a few to gentlemen of reputation and influence, in distant places, for the purpose of procuring additional subscribers, and exciting attention to the objects of the society.

The following is intended as a correct statement of the distributions which have been made, including the distribution to the members of the society:

Of the Circular Letter, - - - - - - -	2260
—— Solemn Review, - - - - - - -	232
—— different Numbers of the Friend of Peace, - -	925
—— Sermon on War, - - - - - - -	1403
In all,	4820

There is now in the hands of the Executive Committee:

Of the Circular Letter, - - - - - -	240
—— Sermon on War, - - - - - -	590

The copies sent to agents for procuring subscribers, will, doubtless, be returned, or, instead of them, the names of subscribers to the society. Several names have already been reported, which were procured by copies thus distributed.

That impressions have been made, and effects produced, favourable to the objects of the society, may appear from the following facts:—

The Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers have, by vote, and by an interesting address to the publick, approved the object of the society, and recommended, "that the members of this Convention become members of the society; and that they severally use their influence to induce others to become members, and to promote the formation of Auxiliary Peace Societies in their respective vicinities."

The General Association of Massachusetts Proper, in a Pastoral Address to the churches, have spoken of Peace Societies, in language sufficiently respectful. These are the words of the Address:—"Should Peace Societies be extended, they will be handmaids, or rather guardian angels, to other benevolent institutions. No means seems so likely to produce universal peace, as the influence of such societies."

The united testimony of two such respectable bodies of the Ministers of religion, communicated to the churches, must naturally make a powerful impression and lead many to reflect.

Since the formation of the society, more than one hundred and thirty respectable members have been added. The present number of members, already reported, is one hundred and seventy-three, of which more than fifty are ministers of religion; and a considerable number are Laymen of high standing, and who would be an honour to any society.

Had no other facts come to our knowledge, those which have been mentioned might well encourage the heart of every friend of peace. But information has been received from different sections of the United States, and from foreign countries, which affords still further ground for rejoicing in hope. For it clearly appears, that the wonder-working God has been exciting his children, in various parts of the world, to reflect on the barbarous and antichristian character of war, and to exert themselves for the abolition of this tremendous scourge of man.

Information has been received, that the Peace Society in New-York is in a growing state; that a Peace Society has been formed in Ohio; and that the principles of peace are rapidly gaining ground in different parts of the country.

Nor is it in America alone that the God of peace has been opening the eyes of his children, on this interesting subject. Even prior to the formation of our society, he had shown that

the hearts of kings and emperours were in his hand, by exciting three powerful sovereigns to unite in a holy league. Four other powers have since been added, and now, seven of the European governments have bound themselves, by a solemn covenant, to make the precepts of the gospel their guide, both in governing their respective subjects, and in their treatment of each other. And the preservation of peace is the avowed object of the alliance.

In Great Britain, also, the eyes of many have been opened. A society for the abolition of war has been founded; and the subject of war has been discussed with great freedom and ability.

It has also been recently announced, that the Prince Regent has signified to the allied sovereigns, that although the form of the British constitution prevents his signing the treaty, called the Holy League, yet they "have his entire concurrence in the principles they expressed, and in the declaration they have made."

Admitting the possibility, and even the probability, that the alliance for the preservation of peace will be violated, and that there will again be wars in Europe prior to the happy day, when the nations shall learn war no more,—still the Holy League may be of vast advantage. It is calculated to call the attention of people, of all classes, to the destructive character of war. It opens a door for a free discussion of its nature and principles, both from the pulpit and the press. Of course, the number of the friends of peace will be continually increasing, till their combined influence shall put an end to the game of blood.

Intelligence of all the foregoing facts has been received since the origin of the Massachusetts Peace Society; and there are still other facts which demand our notice. In Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, New-York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the leading characters in the Society of Friends have displayed a benevolent and persevering spirit, by circulating, extensively, publications in favour of peace, without any partial regard to the denomination from which they originated. They rejoice in the existence of Peace Societies among Christians of other denominations; and they have both the ability and the disposition to afford important aid.

It should be added, that in the course of the past year, a surprising number of benevolent institutions have been founded, of various names, and for various purposes. Each of which may be regarded as an auxiliary to Peace Societies, and Peace Societies as auxiliaries to each of them.

It may now be asked, what institution was ever founded for a nobler object, than the abolition of war and the preservation of peace? If by diffusing the peaceful principles and spirit of the

gospel we effect the abolition of war, we abolish the "school of vice" and depravity, and establish in its room the school of Christian virtue and benevolence; we dry up the sources of desolating ambition, and open a new channel for the display of heroism, and the attainment of glory; nay, we obstruct the road to perdition, and lay open and illuminate the path of life.

We may further ask, what institution, which had the custom of ages, the habits of education, the ambition of the aspiring, and the prejudices of a world to encounter, was ever blessed with brighter prospects of success, at its first anniversary, than the Massachusetts Peace Society? When this society was formed, with what a gloom was it surrounded! except when it looked up to the Father of lights, or into the gospel of his Son. Those who first conversed on the subject, hardly knew whom it would be proper to consult, or where to look for a sufficient number of members to be called a *society*. Not a syllable had reached our country respecting the pacifick League of the three sovereigns; and nothing, perhaps, was more remote from expectation than such a phenomenon. It was, indeed, a formidable objection in the minds of many against joining the society, that nothing of the kind was known to exist in Europe. But now this objection is obviated; the gloom which accompanied the dawn is dispelled, and the SUN OF PEACE is above the horizon. It may be occasionally eclipsed, or its light may be partially obstructed by intervening clouds; yet it will pursue its course, till it shall shine with meridian splendour.

It is also a fact, which demands our gratitude, that notwithstanding the general prepossession, that wars are as inevitable as earthquakes and tempests, and that an effort to abolish them would be both useless and dangerous, and little less than fighting against the Almighty; yet these prepossessions have been gradually subsiding, or at least they have not been suffered to display themselves in acts of hostility against the society. Some things have indeed been written, from a misapprehension of the objects of the society, but much less than might naturally have been anticipated, and probably very little, compared with what would have appeared, had the writers been met with intemperate replies.

The friends of peace have no need to adopt a course of angry altercation in defence of their principles. Candid appeals to the understanding, the conscience, and the heart, are much better adapted to advance the cause of peace. Strong prepossessions are not to be instantaneously removed; nor by other than friendly and peaceable means. Harshness and asperity are much more likely to fix and increase prejudices, than to eradicate them. Besides, in pleading the cause of peace, it would be very indecorous and inconsistent to indulge any other than a pacifick

spirit. Soft words turn away wrath; they also open the ears and conciliate the affections of reasonable and reflecting men.

It is, however, much to the honour of those of our fellow-citizens, who have doubted the utility of Peace Societies, that they have so generally adopted the principle of Gamaliel, and *let us alone*, till it should appear whether this counsel and this work were of men, or of God. And we may devoutly hope that they will not much longer be kept in suspense, on a question of such importance to themselves, to us, and to the world.

Christians have long been in the habit of commemorating, at this season of the year, the birth of THE PRINCE OF PEACE. It is now eighteen hundred and sixteen years since the anthem of Angels was heard by the Shepherds of Bethlehem—"Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace; good will towards men." It was at this season of the last year, that the Emperour Alexander proclaimed, in Russia, the pacifick Alliance. In the same month, the Peace Society was formed in Ohio. At this season of the last year, the Massachusetts Peace Society had its origin. The avowed object in all these recent institutions, is, to carry into effect the grand and benignant purpose of God, in sending his Son as the Prince of Peace.

Thus said the benevolent Messiah—"The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." His doctrines, his precepts, his prohibitions, his examples, and his prayers, were all adapted to such a heavenly purpose. In subserviency to this purpose, our society was formed. To this end all its operations should be directed. And what can be more animating than the thought of being workers together with God, for the redemption of our race, from the oppressions, the crimes, and the miseries of war; and for the establishment of peace and good will in a world of intelligent beings for whom the Saviour died, and who have for ages been in the habit of destroying one another, and of glorying in their shame.

From divine prophesies, and from what God has already done, we may derive hope and animation. But let us never indulge the thought, that those predictions which involve the agency of men, will be accomplished without that agency. Having put our hands to the plough, let us never look back. Having enlisted as soldiers of the Prince of Peace, let us quit ourselves like men. With our minds deeply impressed with the bloody and revengeful character of war, and its contrariety to the spirit of our religion, let us resolve, in the language of Mr. Wilberforce, "Never, never will we desist, till we have wiped away this scandal from the Christian name."*

* On the day of the Annual Meeting, a letter was received from the Hon. Samuel Freeman, of Portland, announcing the pleasing intel-

The first Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Peace Society was held in Boston, at the Chauncey Place, December 26, 1816; and the above Report was read, accepted, and ordered to be printed.

OFFICERS ELECTED FOR THE ENSUING YEAR.

His Hon. Wm. Phillips, *President.*
Hon. Thomas Dawes, *Vice-President.*
Elisha Ticknor, Esq. *Treasurer.*
Rev. T. M. Harris, D.D. *Recording Secretary.*
Rev. Noah Worcester, *Corresponding Secretary.*

Trustees.

Rev. John Foster, D. D.
Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D.
Professor Levi Hedge,
Rev. Daniel Sharp,
John Kenrick, Esq.
William Wells, Esq.

OFFICERS APPOINTED BY THE BOARD FOR 1817.

Counsellors of the Corresponding Secretary.

Rev. John Foster, D.D.
Rev. Jonathan Homer,
Rev. Henry Ware, D. D.
Rev. Joseph M'Kean, L. L. D.
Rev. W. E. Channing.

Executive Committee.

Rev. N. Worcester,
Rev. J. Foster, D. D.
Rev. Ezra Ripley, D. D.
Rev. Elijah Parish, D. D.
Rev. John Pierce,
Hon. Samuel Haven,
John Tappan, Esq.

ligence, that printed Proposals for a Peace Society, in Cumberland County, were in circulation, and that several Ministers of religion, and other respectable characters had already given their names.

A letter has, also, been recently received from England, dated the 4th Oct. 1816, announcing, that TWO Peace Societies had been formed in London; that THREE editions of the "Solemn Review of the Custom of War," had already been published; that application had then been made for a *fourth;* that various other pamphlets on the subject, were in circulation; some new ones about to be printed; and that considerable attention had been excited among Christians of different denominations.

MEMBERS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS PEACE SOCIETY ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER IN EACH TOWN.

Boston—55.

Anderson, John
Bingham, Caleb
Baker, Joseph
Burdit, J. W.
Boynton, Amos
Blanchard, J. P.
Bullard, Charles
Channing, W. E. Rev.
Cummings, Jacob A.
Cleaveland, Charles
Dawes, Thomas, Hon.
Drew, John
Davis, John, Hon.
Dearborn, Benjamin, Esq.
Eliot, John
Freeman, James, Rev. D. D.
Frothingham, N. L. Rev.
Grew, John
Huntington, J. Rev.
Homes, Henry
Homer, G. J.
Hill, Henry, Esq.
Hale, David
Lowell, C. Rev.
Morrill, James, Deacon
May, Samuel, Deacon
May, Joseph, Colonel
Parker, Isaac, Hon.
Parkman, Samuel, Esq.
Parkman, F. Rev.
Parsons, William, Esq.
Phillips, W. Lt. Governour
Paul, Thomas, Rev.
Rand, Isaac, Dr.
Russell, N. P.
Rich, Benjamin
Ropes, William
Sharp, Daniel, Rev.
Smith, Isaac, Rev.
Salisbury, Samuel, jun.
Sewall, Joseph, Esq.
Ticknor, E. Esq.
Tappan, John, Esq.
Tappan, Lewis
Tuckerman, Edward, jun.
Thacher, Peter O. Esq.
Thacher, S. C. Rev.
Thomas, Isaiah, jun.
Vose, Thomas
Ware, Henry, Rev.
Wells, William, Esq.
Wallcut, Thomas
White, James
Webster, Redford, Esq.
Walley, S. H. Deacon

Cambridge—18.

Gannett, Caleb, Esq.
Gannett, T. R. Rev.
Cutler, Samuel
Davenport, Rufus
Fisk, William
Hedge, Levi, Professor
Hilliard, W. Esq.
Holmes, Abiel, Rev. D. D.
Hemmenway, Rufus
Hayden, John
Kirkland, J. T. Rev. President
M'Kean, Joseph, Rev. Professor
Messenger, Henry
Underwood, Jonas
Ware, Henry, Rev. Professor
Walton, John
Wheeler, John
Williams, John, Dr.

Salem—16.

Abbot, J. E. Rev.
Bolles, Lucius, Rev.
Chandler, Abiel
Dabney, John, Esq.
Dabney, E. G.
Emerson, Brown, Rev.
Gibbs, William
Gibbs, J. W.
Jenks, John
Kimball, Eliphalet
King, James
Lawrence, T. B.
Prince, J. Rev. D. D.
Tucker, Ichabod
Worcester, S. Rev. D. D.
Worcester, J. E.

Brighton—14.
Brooks, Samuel,
Baldwin, Thaddeus
Dana, Stephen, Esq.
Foster, John Rev. D. D.
Holton, Benjamin, Major
Herrick, John
Knapp, Jacob N.
Lyman, Asa, Rev.
Moore, Francis, Dr.
Parsons, Gorham, Esq.
Pomeroy, Samuel, Esq.
Parkman, John
Twing, Amos, Deacon
Worcester, N. Rev.

Watertown—12.
Bigelow, Tyler, Esq.
Bemis, Nathaniel
Bemis, Nathaniel, Esq.
Bemis, Seth
Bemis, Luke
Clapp, Aaron
Coolige, Moses, Esq.
Eliot, R. R. Rev.
Hunt, Samuel*
Hunnewell, Walter, Dr.
Patten, Isaac
Whitney, Nathaniel, R.

Byfield—11.
Abbot, Abiel, Rev.
Colman, Benjamin
Dole, Moses
Hale, Daniel, Esq.
Lee, John
Parsons, Eben. Esq.
Parish, E. Rev. D. D.
Pearley, Jacob
Parker, Edwin
Perkins, Ebenezer
Tenney, Enoch.

Newton—9.
Eliot, Simon, General
rafGton, J. Rev.
Greenough, William, Rev.
Homer, Jonathan, Rev.
Hyde, Samuel
Kenrick, John, Esq.
Richardson, John, Esq.
White, Ebenezer, Deacon
Worcester, Samuel

Brookline—5.
Corey, Elijah, Deacon
Goddard, Benjamin
Hyslop, David
Leeds, James
Prince, John, Rev.

Dedham—5.
Bates, Joshua, Rev.
Cogswell, William, Rev.
Gay, Willard, Esq.
Haven, Samuel, Hon.
Wheaton, Jesse, Dr.

Roxbury—5.
Billings, Benjamin
Bradford, John, Rev.
Bartlett, John, Dr.
Gray, Thomas, Rev.
Porter, E. Rev. D. D.

Charlestown—4.
Foster, Jacob
Goodwin, David, Esq.
Hurd, Isaac, Rev.
Morse, Jedediah, Rev.

Hingham—3.
Colman, Henry, Rev.
Kimball, Daniel
Thaxter, Caleb.

Medford—3.
Bartlett, Abner, Esq.
Osgood, David, Rev. D. D.
Swan, Daniel, Dr.

Norton—3.
Clark, Pitt, Rev.
Leonard, George, Esq.
Wood, Joseph.

Billerica—2.
Cummings, H. Rev. D. D.
Whitman, Nathaniel, Rev.

Dorchester—2.
Harris, T. M. Rev. D. D.
Humphreys, James, Deacon.

Northampton—2.
Strong, Caleb, Hon.
Tappan, Benjamin, Esq.

* Deceased.

Andover—1.
Pearson, Eliphalet, Rev. L. L. D.

Chelsea—1.
Tuckerman, Joseph, Rev.

Concord—1.
Ripley, Ezra, Rev. D. D.

Dover—1.
Sanger, Ralph, Rev.

Dennis—1.
Haven, Joseph, Rev.

Hopkinton—1.
Howe, Nathaniel, Rev.

Newbury—1.
Kirby, John, Rev.

Newburyport—1.
White, Daniel A. Hon.

Northborough—1.
Allen, Joseph, Rev.

Quincy—1.
Whitney, Peter, Rev.

Waltham—1.
Ripley, Samuel, Rev.

Weymouth—1.
Norton, Jacob, Rev.

West-Cambridge—1.
Fiske, Thaddeus, Rev.

Exeter, N. H.—1.
Hildrith, Hosea.

Portsmouth, N. H.—1.
Putnam, Israel, Rev.

Oxford, N. Y.—1.
Gile, William.

NOTE.

Considerable pains has been taken to have the list of members correct, as to names, titles, and places of abode. Still some doubts exist, and the names of some who were supposed to be members, are not to be found in the Treasurer's books. In order to a regular distribution of pamphlets, it is important that the Executive Committee should have a complete list of the members of the society; and any information which will enable them to correct the list will be very acceptable.

Several names have been added since the annual meeting. The present number is 185, of which 58 are ministers of religion: "AND YET THERE IS ROOM."

AN INSTRUCTIVE CONTRAST.

Mr. Philo Pacificus,

THOUGH several emperours and kings seem disposed to relinquish their claims to immortality in the "Temple of Fame," for spreading devastation and ruin among the human species; the petty heroes of the age, for ought that appears to the contrary, are as desirous as their predecessors, of obtaining the fancied boon; and may, even now, be undertaking a prosecution for its attainment. For their

admonition, therefore, I send you the decision of two causes, transmitted to us, by Alexander Pope, Esq. reporter of the decisions made in that court. The contrast may be instructive to them; and should it produce its full effect, may save them from expending much blood, from precluding much virtue, from destroying much happiness, "for that which profiteth not." Z.

A TROOP came next, who crowns and armour wore,
And proud defiance in their looks they bore:
'For thee, (they cry'd,) amidst alarms and strife,
We sail'd in tempests down the stream of life;
For thee, whole nations fill'd with flames and blood,
And swam to empire through the purple flood:
Those ills we dar'd, thy inspiration own;
What virtue seem'd, was done for thee alone.'
'Ambitious fools! (the queen replied and frown'd)
Be all your acts in dark oblivion drown'd;
There sleep forgot, with mighty tyrants gone,
Your statues moulder'd, and your names unknown!'
A sudden cloud straight snatch'd them from my sight,
And each majestick phantom sunk in night.
Then came the smallest tribe I yet had seen;
Plain was their dress, and modest was their mien:
'Great idol of mankind! we never claim
The praise of merit, nor aspire to fame!
But safe in deserts from th' applause of men,
Would die unheard of, as we liv'd unseen;
'Tis all we beg thee, to conceal from sight
Those acts of goodness which themselves requite.
O let us still the secret joy partake,
To follow virtue, ev'n for virtue's sake.'
'And live there men who slight immortal fame?
Who then with incense shall adore our name?
But, mortals! know, 'tis still our greatest pride
To blaze those virtues which the good would hide.
Rise! muses, rise! add all your tuneful breath,
These must not sleep in darkness and in death.'
She said: in air the trembling musick floats,
And on the winds triumphant swell the notes;
So soft, though high, so loud, and yet so clear,
Ev'n listening angels lean'd from Heaven to hear:
To farthest shores the' ambrosial spirit flies,
Sweet to the world, and grateful to the skies.

APR 12 1919